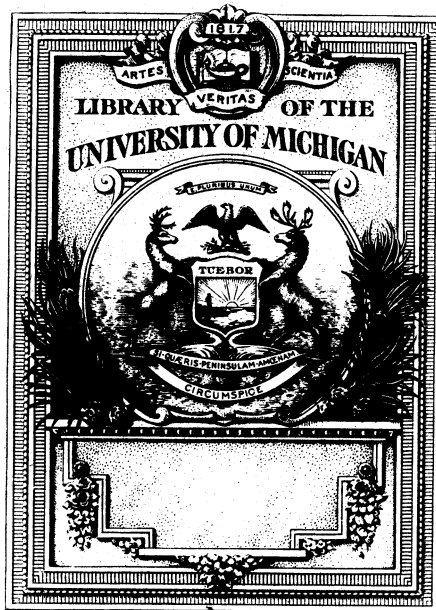


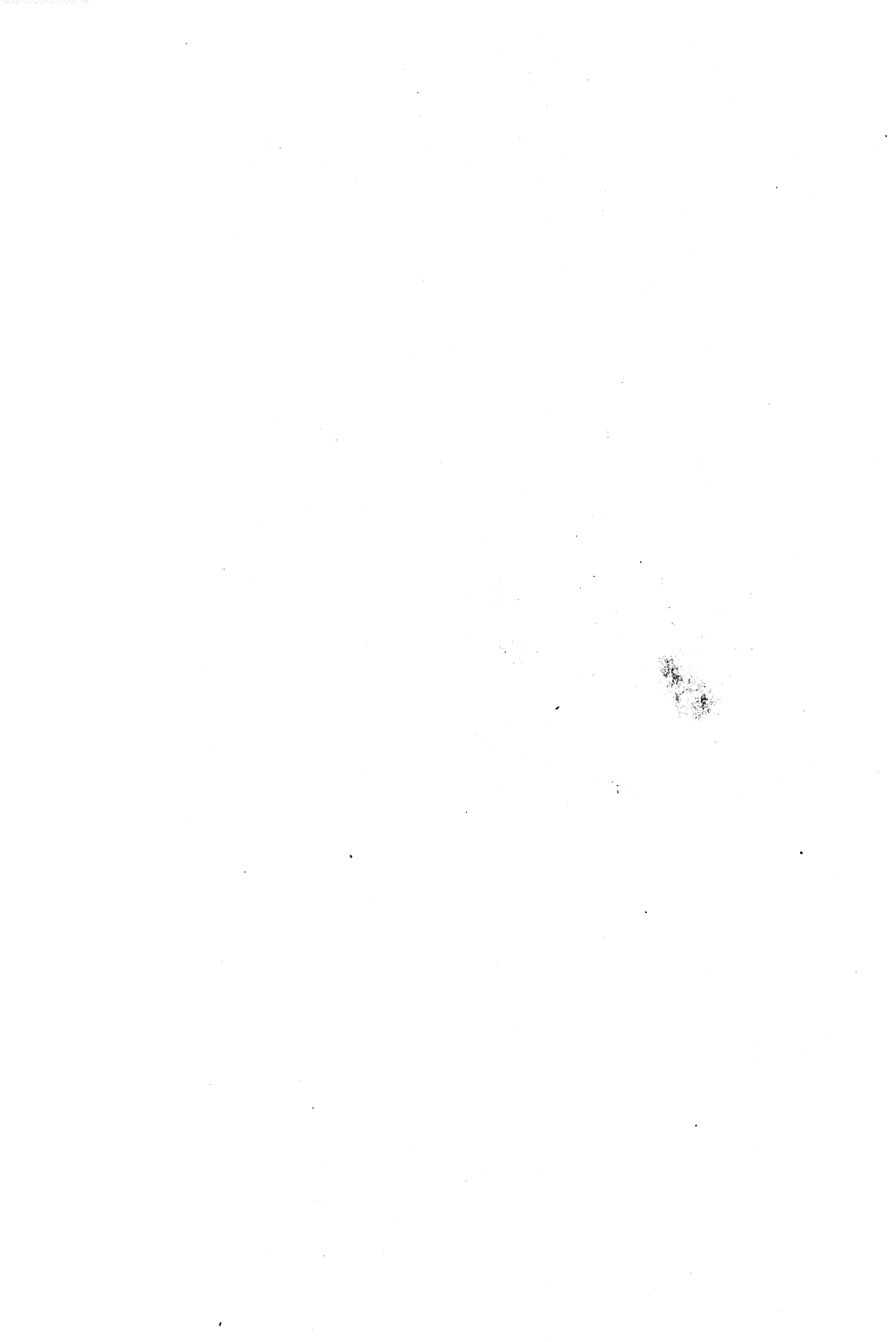


THE PUBLIC
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OF
Franklin D.
Roosevelt

Franklin D. Roosevelt

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THE PUBLIC PAPERS AND ADDRESSES
OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Volume One

THE GENESIS OF THE NEW DEAL

1928-1932

Volume Two

THE YEAR OF CRISIS

1933

Volume Three

THE ADVANCE OF RECOVERY AND REFORM

1934

Volume Four

THE COURT DISAPPROVES

1935

Volume Five

THE PEOPLE APPROVE

1936

THE PUBLIC PAPERS
AND ADDRESSES OF
FRANKLIN D.
ROOSEVELT

WITH A SPECIAL INTRODUCTION
AND EXPLANATORY NOTES BY
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT



Volume Four

THE COURT DISAPPROVES
1935

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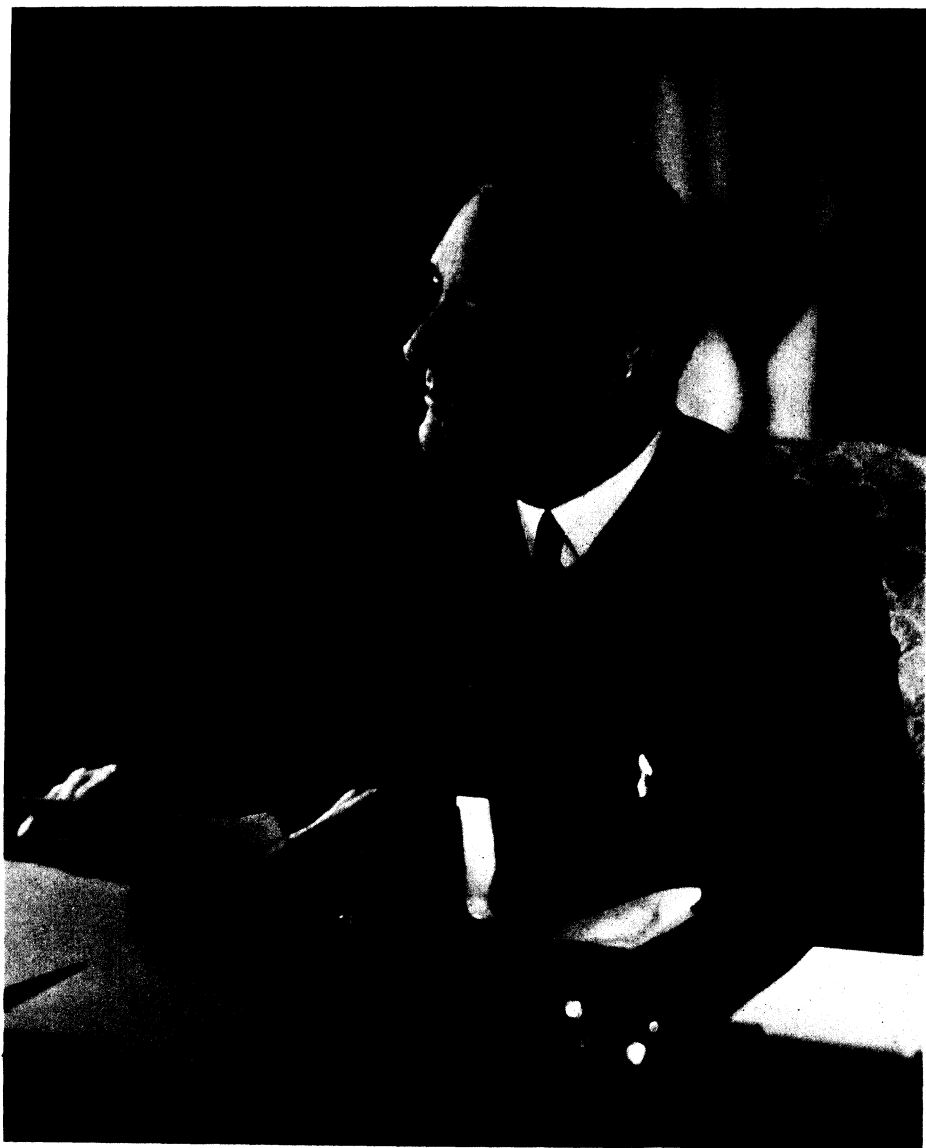
CAMDEN, NEW JERSEY

The material in these volumes has been
compiled and collated by

SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN

Counsel to the Governor during the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt
as Governor of the State of New York

1929-1932



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The Court Disapproves

Introduction

THE DARK DAYS which ushered in the *Year of Crisis* called for drastic exercise of power by the Federal Government. I stated in my Inaugural Address of March 4, 1933, that if necessary I would ask the Congress for powers similar to those necessary in time of war. Action by the various localities, action by the States, action by the Federal Government itself, had up to that point failed to halt the course of the depression. The times called for an extraordinary use of the powers of that instrument of mutual self-help which we call Government. They called for drastic action by the State and Federal Governments alike.

There was of course uppermost in our minds from the very beginning the question of the extent to which these powers could be exercised. We had to consider not only constitutional provisions and principles, but judicial interpretations and precedents as well. For under long practice, the power to invalidate acts of the Congress and of the Legislatures of the several States had been exercised by the United States Supreme Court, and the lower Federal and State courts.

It is now academic to discuss whether it was originally intended that the courts should exercise this power. For more than a century its exercise has been acquiesced in. From the earliest exercise of this authority, however, it was asserted: "It is but a decent respect due to the wisdom, integrity, and the patriotism of the legislative body, by which any law is passed, to presume in favor of its validity, until its violation of the Constitution is proved beyond all reasonable doubt" (Mr. Justice Washington in *Ogden v. Saunders* [1827] 12 Wheat. 213, 270). This limitation which the Supreme Court itself placed upon its own power is probably one of the reasons why official and popular opposition to the exercise of this power did not persist.

Since that time and on many occasions, the Court in its various opinions has in differing language expressed the same idea. Opinions have stated, for example, that judicial power to declare

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unconstitutional Acts of the Congress should be exercised only "in a very clear case"; "in a clear and urgent case"; "in no doubtful case"; "when its unconstitutionality is proved beyond all reasonable doubt," or "beyond a rational doubt"; "under the clearest proof of its conflict with the fundamental law." The greatest justices have always recognized, as Mr. Justice Holmes has stated: "Great constitutional provisions must be administered with caution. Some play must be allowed for the joints of the machine, and it must be remembered that legislatures are ultimate guardians of the liberties and welfare of the people in quite as great a degree as the courts." *Missouri, Kansas & Texas Ry. Co. v. May*, 194 U.S. 267, 270.

However it may be expressed, this presumption of constitutionality has been repeated on innumerable occasions. It is not a technical lawyer's rule. It is part of the very fabric of our scheme of Government, obedience to which is indispensable for the maintenance of our democratic society. But the history of judicial decisions, affecting the enactments of Congress as well as those of the forty-eight States, during the past fifty years proves that all too often lip service has been paid to this basic doctrine of American constitutional law, while, in practice, it has been continuously violated. Summarizing a long series of decisions, Mr. Justice Holmes, on May 26, 1930, felt compelled to protest against the Court's disregard of its functions, in a case dealing with State legislation but no less pertinent to decisions affecting acts of Congress:

"I have not yet adequately expressed the more than anxiety that I feel at the ever-increasing scope given to the Fourteenth Amendment in cutting down what I believe to be the constitutional rights of the States. As the decisions now stand, I see hardly any limit but the sky to the invalidating of those rights if they happen to strike a majority of this Court as for any reason undesirable. I cannot believe that the Amendment was intended to give us *carte blanche* to embody our economic or moral beliefs in its prohibitions. Yet I can think of no narrower reason that seems to me to justify the present and the earlier decisions

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to which I have referred." *Baldwin v. Missouri*, 281 U.S. 586, 595.

And more recently, on June 1, 1936, one of the Justices indicated that decisions have come to be based on the "personal economic predilections" of members of the Court. (Mr. Justice Stone, dissenting in *Morehead v. New York ex rel. Tipaldo*, 298 U.S. 587, 633, Justices Brandeis and Cardozo joining in this opinion.)

For nearly a half century the tendency of the Supreme Court arising from these economic and social predilections has unfortunately been to place a narrowing construction on the powers of Government. The rights of Government to protect individual citizens from aggregations of private economic power were being gradually whittled away. The rights of economically powerful individuals and corporations to pursue activities free from Government restraint, were being continuously extended and glorified. And gradually there was created an increasing area of "no-man's land," where neither the Congress nor the State Legislatures could constitutionally legislate to promote the security of the average man and woman.

Fifteen years before my Administration took office, the Supreme Court had held unconstitutional a Federal statute which excluded from the channels of interstate commerce products made with child labor. While on its face this statute would appear clearly to be a regulation of interstate commerce, the majority opinion in that case held that since the purpose and motive of the legislation were to ban child labor in all States, the law was not a valid exercise of the power of the Congress to regulate interstate commerce. *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, (1918) 247 U.S. 251. The rule of this case placed such a narrow construction on the power of the Congress with respect to all practices affecting the production of goods for interstate commerce as to lay a shadow across everything which we were seeking to accomplish by Federal action to exterminate many social and economic evils which transcend State lines.

In another case the Supreme Court had held that an Act of

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the Congress, which sought to fix minimum wages in the District of Columbia for women in industry, was unconstitutional under the due process clause of the Constitution. *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, (1923) 261 U.S. 525. The rule in this case put in doubt the power of the States themselves to legislate to remove within their own boundaries some of the causes of widespread suffering and distress, diminished purchasing power and general economic depression.

Fifteen years earlier the Supreme Court had held in *Adair v. United States*, (1908) 208 U.S. 161, that a statute making it a misdemeanor for a railroad to discharge or discriminate against an employee because of his membership in a labor union was repugnant to the due process clause of the Constitution, and was not justified by the commerce provisions of the Constitution as a regulation of commerce among the States. A somewhat similar statute of the State of Kansas, applying to corporations in intra-state business, was likewise held unconstitutional a few years later by the Supreme Court as a violation of the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. *Coppage v. Kansas*, (1915) 236 U.S. 1.

These cases seemed to stand in the way of any intelligent and far-sighted program by either the Federal or State Governments to handle the constantly growing problem of the relations between industry and labor. It was under the shadow of these narrow, limiting decisions that we began our program of recovery and reform in the *Year of Crisis*, 1933.

Two Supreme Court decisions in 1934 held out a glimmer of hope that the Supreme Court would take a broad view of the Constitution, which would permit its adaptation to the various crises of human affairs. One was a decision sustaining a Minnesota statute, which had enacted a moratorium on mortgage foreclosures. *Home Bldg. & Loan Assn. v. Blaisdell*, 290 U.S. 398. The other was a decision involving a New York law, which established a system for regulating the price of milk. *Nebbia v. New York*, 291 U.S. 502.

However, commencing in 1935, and running down to the

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election of 1936, there came a line of decisions from the Supreme Court (and also from lower Federal Courts) which so limited the powers of the Federal Government and the powers of the State Governments to obtain the legitimate objectives for which the people voted at the polls in 1932 and 1934, that all real progress toward those objectives began to appear impossible. In most instances, these decisions were made by a divided court, frequently by a bare five to four vote.

The first major case which sought to break down our attempts to cure the abuses and inequalities and instability which had thrown our economic system out of joint involved the provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act, which conferred on the President the power to prohibit the transportation in interstate commerce of petroleum which had been produced in excess of the quantity permitted by the respective State laws (see Items 30, 62, 95, 95A of Vol. II). These provisions were inserted to enable the Federal Government to cope with the chaotic conditions in the oil industry which the States themselves had proved powerless to meet. Continued overproduction and price-cutting, in the face of decreasing demand, had made it necessary for the Federal Government to step in and place the industry on a sound basis by lending its power to prevent overproduction of oil in the various States which, by themselves, had been unable to prevent it.

The decision of the Court, which was handed down on January 7, 1935, was that the Act was unconstitutional as a delegation to the President of legislative power. The contentions of the Government that the statute constituted a valid regulation of interstate commerce and that there was no unconstitutional delegation of legislative power to the Executive, were overruled, Mr. Justice Cardozo vigorously dissenting. *Panama Refining Co. v. Ryan*, 293 U.S. 388.

A month later, February 18, 1935, came the Gold-Clause Cases 294 U.S. 240. These cases involved the validity of the Congressional Joint Resolution of June 5, 1933, which abrogated the gold clauses in all Government and private contracts and pro-

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vided that such obligations might be discharged by the payment of regular legal-tender currency. The Government contended that the Resolution was a valid exercise of the power of the Congress over the currency system. By a bare vote of five to four, the Court sustained the contention of the Government and upheld the Resolution so far as private obligations were concerned. The Court held, however, that the abrogation of the gold clause as to Government obligations was not valid, but that the holders of Government bonds were not damaged by the abrogation of the gold clause and that therefore they were not entitled to recover. Mr. Justice Stone vigorously protested that since no damage had been proved, there was no occasion for the Court to question the validity of the Joint Resolution in its application to Government obligations and that the Court's decision might needlessly interpose serious obstacles to the adoption of measures for the stabilization of the dollar.

A difference of one vote in the case involving private obligations would have meant that the entire currency program and the entire gold and silver policy of the Government, which were among the chief foundations of the whole recovery program, would have been invalidated, that the preexisting chaos in foreign exchange and domestic currency and the whole unfair debt structure would have returned, and that a favored few would have been unfairly enriched at the expense of the general public.

The next major Supreme Court decision, handed down on May 6, 1935, involved the Railroad Retirement Act (see Item 120, Vol. III). That Act provided for the creation of a pooled fund to which contributions were to be made by all interstate railroads, for the purpose of paying pensions to retired railroad employees. The Government contended that the statute was a valid exercise of the power to regulate interstate commerce. The Court by a five to four decision held that the Act deprived the railroads of property without due process of law in contravention of the Fifth Amendment; and also held that the statute was not a legitimate exercise of the power to regulate interstate commerce, since the provision for retirement and pensioning of aged

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employees has no reasonable relation to the business of interstate transportation. *Railroad Retirement Board v. Alton Railroad Co.*, 295 U.S. 330.

During the same month, May 27, 1935, the Supreme Court by a unanimous decision struck down all the code-making provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act (see Items 59, 78, 79, 81, 93, and 105 of Vol. II). These provisions authorized the President to approve codes of fair competition for various industries upon application by those industries.

The case involved a violation of the live poultry code by defendants whose business was to buy from concerns in New York State poultry which had been sent into New York State from other States, and who slaughtered the poultry for sale to retailers in New York. The charge against the defendants was that they violated the provisions of the code which fixed minimum wages and maximum hours and which set up certain trade practices to prevent unfair competition. The Government contended that this statute constituted a valid exercise of the power to regulate interstate commerce on the ground that the trade practices and the provisions for hours and wages have a direct effect on the price structure and the quality and volume of live poultry shipped in interstate commerce into New York; that they have particularly an effect on the interstate competition existing between the live poultry business and the dressed poultry business; that the intrastate transactions are so interwoven with interstate commerce that adequate control of the latter required control of the former; and that the Act did not improperly delegate legislative power to the Executive, in view of the fact that it contained a statement of policies and standards under which the President must act.

The Supreme Court, however, held the statute unconstitutional on the grounds, first, that the code-making power sought to be conferred on the President was an invalid application of legislative power; and second, that the particular transactions involved in the case before it did not constitute interstate com-

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merce. *A. L. A. Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States*, 295 U.S. 495.

The next major adverse decision was a declaration of unconstitutionality of the Agricultural Adjustment Act on January 6, 1936. This Act was enacted to help the farmers protect themselves by cooperative action against the accumulation of farm surpluses which had brought about disastrous farm prices and had left agriculture practically prostrate throughout the country. The statute provided for raising taxes on the processing of farm commodities and for appropriating the proceeds of the taxes to pay benefits to farmers who cooperated in adjusting their crop surpluses (see Items 20 and 54 of Vol. II).

The Government contended that the general welfare clause of the Constitution (which gives the Congress power "to lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to . . . provide for the . . . general Welfare of the United States") should be construed broadly to include anything conducive to the national welfare, unaffected by the specifically enumerated powers which follow the clause; that pursuant to it, the Congress may raise taxes and appropriate the proceeds to promote the national welfare. It urged that the determination of what was a national purpose rests with the Congress and not with the courts and that the purposes of the Act were in fact for the general welfare of the United States.

The Supreme Court held that the Act was essentially one regulating agricultural production; that the processing tax was not really for raising revenue but was a mere incident of such regulation; that agricultural production is "a purely local activity"; that the general welfare clause of the Constitution conferred on the Congress the power to spend money in respect of any subject which pertained to the general welfare of the Nation without being limited by the specifically enumerated grants of Congressional power; but that it did not extend to the use of the spending power for the purpose of regulating agricultural production which was a matter that pertained only to the local welfare as an intrastate activity. *United States v. Butler*, 297 U.S. 1.

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It was in this case that Mr. Justice Stone, in a dissenting opinion in which Mr. Justice Brandeis and Mr. Justice Cardozo joined (page 87), pointed out that such “a tortured construction of the Constitution is not to be justified” and that the “Courts are not the only agency of government that must be assumed to have capacity to govern.”

On May 18, 1936, came the next major adverse decision, in the opinion declaring unconstitutional the Bituminous Coal Conservation Act of 1935 (generally known as the first Guffey Coal Act, see Item 91, this volume). This statute was enacted to bring order out of chaos in the bituminous coal industry. The Act provided for the fixing of minimum and maximum prices of coal, for a labor board to adjust labor disputes, for collective bargaining by employees through their own chosen representatives, for wages and hours to be mandatory upon the entire industry, if fixed by contracts between certain percentages of employers and employees.

The Government contended that the power to regulate interstate commerce, included the power to regulate “price at the mine” in interstate commerce transactions and that therefore such price-fixing clauses of the Act were valid. It further contended that the labor provisions of the Act controlling the conditions under which coal is to be mined before it becomes an article of commerce were valid because they were designed to prevent strikes and other evils of production which directly affect interstate commerce in coal; but that if they were held to be invalid they were, in any event, separable provisions and their invalidity did not affect the validity of the price-fixing provisions.

The Court by a six to three vote held the labor provisions bad not on one but on three counts—bad as an unwarranted delegation of legislative power, bad as a violation of due process, bad as a regulation of intrastate commerce not within the purview of the commerce power. Five of the Justices plainly stated that the mining of coal is purely a local activity and not interstate commerce; that the whole relation between employers and employees with respect to wages, hours, working conditions and collective

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bargaining is purely a local one; and that mining, manufacturing, and farming are all local in character, no matter what is done with the products mined, manufactured or farmed, even if they be shipped into, and sold in, forty-seven other States. The Court, without deciding the question as to whether the price-fixing provisions of the Act were constitutional or not, held (by a majority vote) that they were not separable from the labor provisions, and that therefore the entire scheme of regulation fell. *Carter v. Carter Coal Co.*, 298 U.S. 238.

Perhaps the climax of this line of decisions by the Supreme Court came on June 1, 1936, in the decision declaring unconstitutional, by a vote of five to four, the New York State Minimum Wage Law. *Morehead v. New York ex rel. Tipaldo*, 298 U.S. 587. It involved a State statute fixing minimum fair wages for women in industry in New York. A majority of the Court held to the view that (page 611) "the State is without power by any form of legislation to prohibit, change or nullify contracts between employers and adult women workers as to the amount of wages to be paid."

While the decision did not concern the activities of the Federal Government, it indicated the attitude of the majority of the members of the Court on economic and social legislation. It served further to emphasize the "no-man's land" in which neither the Congress nor the Legislatures of the several States could use their power to promote the economic and social welfare of employees of mines, shops and factories. This was the unfortunate conclusion reached, although a dissenting opinion joined in by three Justices in this case stated (page 635), "a wage is not always the resultant of free bargaining between employers and employees; . . . it may be one forced upon employees by their economic necessities and upon employers by the most ruthless of their competitors"; and that in arriving at their decision of unconstitutionality, the judges were merely following their own (page 633) "personal economic predilections."

So, in the year and a half commencing with the "hot oil" case and ending with the New York Minimum Wage case, it became

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quite obvious that the *Advance of Recovery and Reform* begun by the Congress and the Executive in the *Year of Crisis*, which its opponents could not stop by the elections of 1934, was being nullified by a barrier which read: "*The Court Disapproves.*"

American history records the famous Nullification Act by the State of South Carolina in 1832, whereby that State declared an Act of the National Congress to be of no effect. History in the days to come may well refer to those eighteen months of 1935 and 1936 as the time of the "Nullification Decrees" promulgated by the Supreme Court whereby the Court declared a whole series of Congressional enactments to be of no effect, even though the Congress had based them on powers given to the Federal Government and on the crying necessity of helping the people of the Nation in a great crisis.

The whole line of decisions cast a deep shadow of doubt upon the ability of the Congress ever at any time to protect the Nation against catastrophe by squarely meeting modern social and economic maladjustments. It was a complete abrogation of the old theory under which an act of Congress would not be disturbed by the correlative judicial branch of Government, unless the act was beyond all reasonable doubt unconstitutional. It was a complete breakdown of the system of government by three independent but theoretically cooperating branches.

We were stopped short and thrown back in our efforts to stabilize national agriculture, to improve conditions of labor, to safeguard business against unfair competition, to protect disorganized and chaotic interstate industries, to provide old age pensions for railroad employees, and in other ways to serve obvious national needs. These decisions, and the very sweeping and all-inclusive language of denial used by the Supreme Court, and innumerable other decisions of like tenor applied to other Federal statutes by lower Federal Courts—all made it impossible to determine just how the powers of a Government which the Founding Fathers sought to make strong enough to meet new national problems could be exercised.

I do not wish here to discuss the many considerations which

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led me in 1937 to adopt the quickest and most effective constitutional way to break this judicial wall erected across the road to national safety. They are discussed in my messages to the Congress and in my various speeches and papers on that subject, all of which will be included in the 1937 volume of these Public Papers.

Nor shall I here discuss the various decisions of the Supreme Court in 1937, which came after the election of 1936 and after my message of February 5, 1937 — decisions which in many vital respects have abrogated the decisions and rulings and principles of law which the Court expounded during this year of 1935 and the first part of 1936. They, too, will be considered in the 1937 volume.

I think that observers of national affairs agree that this change in the tenor of the Court's decisions, fortunately for democracy, came about largely as a result of the outstanding political event of 1936 — the election. I say "fortunately for democracy" advisedly, because democracy cannot endure if courts or any other agency of Government continue to assert the power of a super-legislature to veto general policies within the broad framework of the Constitution which "*The People Approve*."

We have learned again that eternal vigilance is necessary to preserve the constitutional rights of a free people. As Abraham Lincoln said at Cincinnati in 1859, "the people of these United States are the rightful masters of both congresses and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution."

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Franklin D. Roosevelt". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Washington, D. C.
December 6, 1937

1 ¶ Annual Message to the Congress. January 4,
1935

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives:

THE CONSTITUTION wisely provides that the Chief Executive shall report to the Congress on the state of the Union, for through you, the chosen legislative representatives, our citizens everywhere may fairly judge the progress of our governing. I am confident that today, in the light of the events of the past two years, you do not consider it merely a trite phrase when I tell you that I am truly glad to greet you and that I look forward to common counsel, to useful cooperation, and to genuine friendships between us.

We have undertaken a new order of things; yet we progress to it under the framework and in the spirit and intent of the American Constitution. We have proceeded throughout the Nation a measurable distance on the road toward this new order. Materially, I can report to you substantial benefits to our agricultural population, increased industrial activity, and profits to our merchants. Of equal moment, there is evident a restoration of that spirit of confidence and faith which marks the American character. Let him, who, for speculative profit or partisan purpose, without just warrant would seek to disturb or dispel this assurance, take heed before he assumes responsibility for any act which slows our onward steps.

Throughout the world, change is the order of the day. In every Nation economic problems, long in the making, have brought crises of many kinds for which the masters of old practice and theory were unprepared. In most Nations social justice, no longer a distant ideal, has become a definite goal, and ancient Governments are beginning to heed the call.

Thus, the American people do not stand alone in the world in their desire for change. We seek it through tested liberal traditions, through processes which retain all of the deep essentials of

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that republican form of representative government first given to a troubled world by the United States.

As the various parts in the program begun in the Extraordinary Session of the 73rd Congress shape themselves in practical administration, the unity of our program reveals itself to the Nation. The outlines of the new economic order, rising from the disintegration of the old, are apparent. We test what we have done as our measures take root in the living texture of life. We see where we have built wisely and where we can do still better.

The attempt to make a distinction between recovery and reform is a narrowly conceived effort to substitute the appearance of reality for reality itself. When a man is convalescing from illness, wisdom dictates not only cure of the symptoms, but also removal of their cause.

It is important to recognize that while we seek to outlaw specific abuses, the American objective of today has an infinitely deeper, finer and more lasting purpose than mere repression. Thinking people in almost every country of the world have come to realize certain fundamental difficulties with which civilization must reckon. Rapid changes—the machine age, the advent of universal and rapid communication and many other new factors—have brought new problems. Succeeding generations have attempted to keep pace by reforming in piecemeal fashion this or that attendant abuse. As a result, evils overlap and reform becomes confused and frustrated. We lose sight, from time to time, of our ultimate human objectives.

Let us, for a moment, strip from our simple purpose the confusion that results from a multiplicity of detail and from millions of written and spoken words.

We find our population suffering from old inequalities, little changed by past sporadic remedies. In spite of our efforts and in spite of our talk, we have not weeded out the overprivileged and we have not effectively lifted up the underprivileged. Both of these manifestations of injustice have retarded happiness. No wise man has any intention of destroying what is known as the profit motive; because by the profit motive we mean the right by

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work to earn a decent livelihood for ourselves and for our families.

We have, however, a clear mandate from the people, that Americans must forswear that conception of the acquisition of wealth which, through excessive profits, creates undue private power over private affairs and, to our misfortune, over public affairs as well. In building toward this end we do not destroy ambition, nor do we seek to divide our wealth into equal shares on stated occasions. We continue to recognize the greater ability of some to earn more than others. But we do assert that the ambition of the individual to obtain for him and his a proper security, a reasonable leisure, and a decent living throughout life, is an ambition to be preferred to the appetite for great wealth and great power.

I recall to your attention my message to the Congress last June in which I said: "among our objectives I place the security of the men, women and children of the Nation first." That remains our first and continuing task; and in a very real sense every major legislative enactment of this Congress should be a component part of it.

In defining immediate factors which enter into our quest, I have spoken to the Congress and the people of three great divisions:

1. The security of a livelihood through the better use of the national resources of the land in which we live.
2. The security against the major hazards and vicissitudes of life.
3. The security of decent homes.

I am now ready to submit to the Congress a broad program designed ultimately to establish all three of these factors of security—a program which because of many lost years will take many future years to fulfill.

A study of our national resources, more comprehensive than any previously made, shows the vast amount of necessary and practicable work which needs to be done for the development

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and preservation of our natural wealth for the enjoyment and advantage of our people in generations to come. The sound use of land and water is far more comprehensive than the mere planting of trees, building of dams, distributing of electricity or retirement of sub-marginal land. It recognizes that stranded populations, either in the country or the city, cannot have security under the conditions that now surround them.

To this end we are ready to begin to meet this problem — the intelligent care of population throughout our Nation, in accordance with an intelligent distribution of the means of livelihood for that population. A definite program for putting people to work, of which I shall speak in a moment, is a component part of this greater program of security of livelihood through the better use of our national resources.

Closely related to the broad problem of livelihood is that of security against the major hazards of life. Here also, a comprehensive survey of what has been attempted or accomplished in many Nations and in many States proves to me that the time has come for action by the national Government. I shall send to you, in a few days, definite recommendations based on these studies. These recommendations will cover the broad subjects of unemployment insurance and old age insurance, of benefits for children, for mothers, for the handicapped, for maternity care and for other aspects of dependency and illness where a beginning can now be made.

The third factor — better homes for our people — has also been the subject of experimentation and study. Here, too, the first practical steps can be made through the proposals which I shall suggest in relation to giving work to the unemployed.

Whatever we plan and whatever we do should be in the light of these three clear objectives of security. We cannot afford to lose valuable time in haphazard public policies which cannot find a place in the broad outlines of these major purposes. In that spirit I come to an immediate issue made for us by hard and inescapable circumstance — the task of putting people to work. In the spring of 1933 the issue of destitution seemed to stand apart;

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today, in the light of our experience and our new national policy, we find we can put people to work in ways which conform to, initiate and carry forward the broad principles of that policy.

The first objectives of emergency legislation of 1933 were to relieve destitution, to make it possible for industry to operate in a more rational and orderly fashion, and to put behind industrial recovery the impulse of large expenditures in Government undertakings. The purpose of the National Industrial Recovery Act to provide work for more people succeeded in a substantial manner within the first few months of its life, and the Act has continued to maintain employment gains and greatly improved working conditions in industry.

The program of public works provided for in the Recovery Act launched the Federal Government into a task for which there was little time to make preparation and little American experience to follow. Great employment has been given and is being given by these works.

More than two billions of dollars have also been expended in direct relief to the destitute. Local agencies of necessity determined the recipients of this form of relief. With inevitable exceptions the funds were spent by them with reasonable efficiency and as a result actual want of food and clothing in the great majority of cases has been overcome.

But the stark fact before us is that great numbers still remain unemployed.

A large proportion of these unemployed and their dependents have been forced on the relief rolls. The burden on the Federal Government has grown with great rapidity. We have here a human as well as an economic problem. When humane considerations are concerned, Americans give them precedence. The lessons of history, confirmed by the evidence immediately before me, show conclusively that continued dependence upon relief induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destructive to the national fibre. To dole out relief in this way is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit. It is inimical to the dictates of sound policy. It is in violation of the

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traditions of America. Work must be found for able-bodied but destitute workers.

The Federal Government must and shall quit this business of relief.

I am not willing that the vitality of our people be further sapped by the giving of cash, of market baskets, of a few hours of weekly work cutting grass, raking leaves or picking up papers in the public parks. We must preserve not only the bodies of the unemployed from destitution but also their self-respect, their self-reliance and courage and determination. This decision brings me to the problem of what the Government should do with approximately five million unemployed now on the relief rolls.

About one million and a half of these belong to the group which in the past was dependent upon local welfare efforts. Most of them are unable for one reason or another to maintain themselves independently—for the most part, through no fault of their own. Such people, in the days before the great depression, were cared for by local efforts—by States, by counties, by towns, by cities, by churches and by private welfare agencies. It is my thought that in the future they must be cared for as they were before. I stand ready through my own personal efforts, and through the public influence of the office that I hold, to help these local agencies to get the means necessary to assume this burden.

The security legislation which I shall propose to the Congress will, I am confident, be of assistance to local effort in the care of this type of cases. Local responsibility can and will be resumed, for, after all, common sense tells us that the wealth necessary for this task existed and still exists in the local community, and the dictates of sound administration require that this responsibility be in the first instance a local one.

There are, however, an additional three and one half million employable people who are on relief. With them the problem is different and the responsibility is different. This group was the victim of a nation-wide depression caused by conditions which were not local but national. The Federal Government is the only governmental agency with sufficient power and credit to meet

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this situation. We have assumed this task and we shall not shrink from it in the future. It is a duty dictated by every intelligent consideration of national policy to ask you to make it possible for the United States to give employment to all of these three and one half million employable people now on relief, pending their absorption in a rising tide of private employment.

It is my thought that with the exception of certain of the normal public building operations of the Government, all emergency public works shall be united in a single new and greatly enlarged plan.

With the establishment of this new system we can supersede the Federal Emergency Relief Administration with a coordinated authority which will be charged with the orderly liquidation of our present relief activities and the substitution of a national chart for the giving of work.

This new program of emergency public employment should be governed by a number of practical principles.

- (1) All work undertaken should be useful — not just for a day, or a year, but useful in the sense that it affords permanent improvement in living conditions or that it creates future new wealth for the Nation.
- (2) Compensation on emergency public projects should be in the form of security payments which should be larger than the amount now received as a relief dole, but at the same time not so large as to encourage the rejection of opportunities for private employment or the leaving of private employment to engage in Government work.
- (3) Projects should be undertaken on which a large percentage of direct labor can be used.
- (4) Preference should be given to those projects which will be self-liquidating in the sense that there is a reasonable expectation that the Government will get its money back at some future time.
- (5) The projects undertaken should be selected and planned so as to compete as little as possible with private enter-

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prises. This suggests that if it were not for the necessity of giving useful work to the unemployed now on relief, these projects in most instances would not now be undertaken.

- (6) The planning of projects would seek to assure work during the coming fiscal year to the individuals now on relief, or until such time as private employment is available. In order to make adjustment to increasing private employment, work should be planned with a view to tapering it off in proportion to the speed with which the emergency workers are offered positions with private employers.
- (7) Effort should be made to locate projects where they will serve the greatest unemployment needs as shown by present relief rolls, and the broad program of the National Resources Board should be freely used for guidance in selection. Our ultimate objective being the enrichment of human lives, the Government has the primary duty to use its emergency expenditures as much as possible to serve those who cannot secure the advantages of private capital.

Ever since the adjournment of the 73d Congress, the Administration has been studying from every angle the possibility and the practicability of new forms of employment. As a result of these studies I have arrived at certain very definite convictions as to the amount of money that will be necessary for the sort of public projects that I have described. I shall submit these figures in my budget message. I assure you now they will be within the sound credit of the Government.

The work itself will cover a wide field including clearance of slums, which for adequate reasons cannot be undertaken by private capital; in rural housing of several kinds, where, again, private capital is unable to function; in rural electrification; in the reforestation of the great watersheds of the Nation; in an intensified program to prevent soil erosion and to reclaim blighted areas; in improving existing road systems and in constructing national highways designed to handle modern traffic; in the elimination of grade crossings; in the extension and enlargement of

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the successful work of the Civilian Conservation Corps; in non-Federal works, mostly self-liquidating and highly useful to local divisions of Government; and on many other projects which the Nation needs and cannot afford to neglect.

This is the method which I propose to you in order that we may better meet this present-day problem of unemployment. Its greatest advantage is that it fits logically and usefully into the long-range permanent policy of providing the three types of security which constitute as a whole an American plan for the betterment of the future of the American people.

I shall consult with you from time to time concerning other measures of national importance. Among the subjects that lie immediately before us are the consolidation of Federal regulatory administration over all forms of transportation, the renewal and clarification of the general purposes of the National Industrial Recovery Act, the strengthening of our facilities for the prevention, detection and treatment of crime and criminals, the restoration of sound conditions in the public utilities field through abolition of the evil features of holding companies, the gradual tapering off of the emergency credit activities of Government, and improvement in our taxation forms and methods.

We have already begun to feel the bracing effect upon our economic system of a restored agriculture. The hundreds of millions of additional income that farmers are receiving are finding their way into the channels of trade. The farmers' share of the national income is slowly rising. The economic facts justify the widespread opinion of those engaged in agriculture that our provisions for maintaining a balanced production give at this time the most adequate remedy for an old and vexing problem. For the present, and especially in view of abnormal world conditions, agricultural adjustment with certain necessary improvements in methods should continue.

It seems appropriate to call attention at this time to the fine spirit shown during the past year by our public servants. I cannot praise too highly the cheerful work of the Civil Service employees, and of those temporarily working for the Government.

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As for those thousands in our various public agencies spread throughout the country who, without compensation, agreed to take over heavy responsibilities in connection with our various loan agencies and particularly in direct relief work, I cannot say too much. I do not think any country could show a higher average of cheerful and even enthusiastic team-work than has been shown by these men and women.

I cannot with candor tell you that general international relationships outside the borders of the United States are improved. On the surface of things many old jealousies are resurrected, old passions aroused; new strivings for armament and power, in more than one land, rear their ugly heads. I hope that calm counsel and constructive leadership will provide the steadying influence and the time necessary for the coming of new and more practical forms of representative government throughout the world wherein privilege and power will occupy a lesser place and world welfare a greater.

I believe, however, that our own peaceful and neighborly attitude toward other Nations is coming to be understood and appreciated. The maintenance of international peace is a matter in which we are deeply and unselfishly concerned. Evidence of our persistent and undeniable desire to prevent armed conflict has recently been more than once afforded.

There is no ground for apprehension that our relations with any Nation will be otherwise than peaceful. Nor is there ground for doubt that the people of most Nations seek relief from the threat and burden attaching to the false theory that extravagant armament cannot be reduced and limited by international accord.

The ledger of the past year shows many more gains than losses. Let us not forget that, in addition to saving millions from utter destitution, child labor has been for the moment outlawed, thousands of homes saved to their owners and most important of all, the morale of the Nation has been restored. Viewing the year 1934 as a whole, you and I can agree that we have a generous measure of reasons for giving thanks.

It is not empty optimism that moves me to a strong hope in

Forest Conservation

the coming year. We can, if we will, make 1935 a genuine period of good feeling, sustained by a sense of purposeful progress. Beyond the material recovery, I sense a spiritual recovery as well. The people of America are turning as never before to those permanent values that are not limited to the physical objectives of life. There are growing signs of this on every hand. In the face of these spiritual impulses we are sensible of the Divine Providence to which Nations turn now, as always, for guidance and fostering care.

2 ¶ A Request for State Cooperation in Forest Conservation. January 2, 1935

My dear Governor:

MAINTENANCE of our forests and the industries dependent upon them, which in normal times afford employment to large numbers of our people, is very vital to the welfare of every State. It is also essential for the permanent recovery of our country. It was with this in mind that I insisted that there be included in the Lumber Code a specific provision for forest conservation.

Some of the provisions of the Lumber Code cannot be carried out effectively without Federal and State legislation in the matter of protecting the forests against fire, insects, and disease, adjustment of forest taxation, taking over tax-delinquent forest land for State or other public forests, other suitable measures to increase public ownership, and encouragement of better management of private forests.

I intend to submit to Congress recommendations for legislation looking toward this end, so far as it comes within the scope of Federal action. There are, however, several measures that come within the jurisdiction of the individual States. Among these are measures dealing with taxation of forests, tax delinquency, forest fire laws, cooperation between the State forest agencies and forest owners in developing and maintaining permanent local forest in-

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dustries and communities, and other measures falling within the public power of the States.

In developing such a forest program, I solicit the closest cooperation between the State authorities and the Federal Forest Service. One step in this direction would be the appointment by you of a committee, including representatives of State agencies, the public, and the forest industries, which could collaborate with Federal representatives. You may wish to consider some other approach. In any case, I am sure that I can count on your interest in helping to perpetuate the forests and forest industries, for the benefit of the people of your State and of the whole country.

Very sincerely yours,

(This letter was sent to the Governors of all the States.)

3 ¶ The Annual Budget Message. January 3, 1935

To the Congress:

THE Budget of the United States Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, of which this message is definitely a part, is transmitted herewith for your consideration. It deals principally with the moneys carried in the general and special accounts of the Government, which constitute the great bulk of the general fund, as this fund is shown on the first page of the daily Treasury statement. The remainder of the general fund consists mainly of moneys carried in trust accounts, which are not strictly Government moneys, and therefore enter only incidentally into the financial picture presented by the General Budget Summary.

REVIEW OF THE FISCAL YEAR 1934

The total expenditures of the Government for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1934, as shown in the General Budget Summary and supporting schedules, amounted to \$7,105,000,000 in round figures. Of this amount, the sum of \$1,086,000,000 was spent for the operation and maintenance of the regular departments and

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establishments of the Government, \$556,000,000 to meet veterans' pensions and benefits, \$757,000,000 for interest on the national debt, \$360,000,000 for statutory debt retirements, and \$63,000,000 for tax refunds, making in the aggregate \$2,822,000,000. The remainder of the total expenditures for that year, amounting to \$4,283,000,000, was spent for recovery and relief. The general purposes to which this amount was applied are set forth in detail in Supporting Schedule No. 3. It will be seen that this amount was expended approximately as follows:

	<i>In millions of dollars</i>
Agricultural aid	847.0
Relief	1,844.4
Public works	653.5
Aid to home owners	194.9
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	584.6
Miscellaneous	158.6
<hr/>	
Total	4,283.0

A part of this expenditure of \$4,283,000,000 for recovery and relief is repayable; indeed, substantial repayments have already been made to the Government. Loans amounted to \$732,000,000, and subscriptions to capital stock and preferred shares to \$826,000,000, making a total of \$1,558,000,000 which may be regarded as repayable expenditures made during the fiscal year 1934. The part regarded as nonrepayable totals \$2,725,000,000. This sum has been spent mainly for grants, aids, public-works projects, and administrative expenses.

The total receipts of the Government for the fiscal year 1934 reached in the aggregate \$3,115,500,000. Of this amount \$2,640,600,000 came from internal revenue, \$313,400,000 from customs, \$152,600,000 from miscellaneous revenues, and \$8,900,000 from receipts due to the realization upon assets. Income tax supplied \$818,000,000 of internal revenues; miscellaneous taxes (e.g., estate, capital stock, liquor, tobacco, stamp, and excise taxes), \$1,469,600,000, and processing taxes, \$353,000,000. Since the

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processing taxes are appropriated for the use of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, their total should be subtracted from the aggregate receipts shown above in order to arrive at the general receipts of the Government.

The general receipts of \$2,762,500,000, excluding processing taxes, approximately equaled the regular expenditures for the year, a fact which should be duly recognized.

The deficit at the end of the fiscal year 1934, as shown in the General Budget Summary, was \$3,989,500,000 in round figures. After deducting \$359,900,000 for statutory debt retirements during 1934, the resulting net deficit financed from borrowings was \$3,629,600,000. The gross increase in the national debt amounted to \$4,514,400,000, making a total debt of \$27,053,000,000, as indicated in Supporting Schedule No. 6. This addition to the debt during 1934 included the financing of the net deficit of \$3,629,600,000 and an increase of \$884,800,000 in the cash balance of the general and special accounts, as shown in Supporting Schedule No. 4.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

Because of its profound influence on the Federal Budget, the economic situation may be briefly summarized at this point. Business was substantially more active during the fiscal year 1934 than in either of the two preceding fiscal years. At the opening of the year, in July, 1933, producers were increasing their operations sharply reflecting in part larger orders placed in anticipation of code regulations. There was a temporary decline in output in the autumn and early winter, in response to an overaccumulation of inventories during this period, but production again advanced during the last half of the fiscal year. Industrial output for the period as a whole, when measured by the Federal Reserve Board index, was 25 percent greater than in the fiscal year 1933 and only slightly below the level of the fiscal year 1931. The degree of recovery varied in the different industries. Production of non-durable goods, which had declined only moderately during the depression, approached within 1 percent of its 1923-1925 average,

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while output in the durable-goods group, where prices showed relatively small declines since 1929, was 38 percent below its average in those years. Construction activity financed by private individuals continued to be restricted in amount, although public construction increased. This result was in no way surprising in view of the enormous sums spent on permanent structures, in many cases in excess of actual requirements, during the period 1925-1929.

The average volume of industrial employment expanded in proportion to production, and the total number of unemployed at the end of the fiscal year 1934, although still very large, decreased by about 2 millions, as compared with June, 1933, and 4 millions, as compared with the worst point of the depression, which fell in March, 1933. Reflecting higher wage rates and an expansion in total hours worked, industrial payrolls averaged sharply higher over the year. Distribution of commodities at retail to consumers increased, but in smaller proportion than output, with the result that inventories of manufactured goods showed a net growth over the year ended June 30, 1934.

At the end of the fiscal year 1934 the Bureau of Labor Statistics index of wholesale commodity prices stood at 74.8 percent of its 1926 average, as compared with 66.3 percent on June 30, 1933, and 59.6 percent early in March, 1933. The sharpest rise in prices took place in farm products which were affected by anticipation of smaller crops during the summer of 1934. The rise in agricultural prices more than offset the decrease in farm output, and farmers' cash income, including governmental rental and benefit payments, was 34 percent higher than in the fiscal year 1933. Corporate profits, aided by larger volume as well as by inventory appreciation, also increased considerably.

Following the close of the fiscal year 1934, output in basic industries fell sharply through September, reflecting particularly an overaccumulation of inventories in steel and textile products and the delay in the placing of orders for autumn merchandise because of uncertainty as to the effect of the drought. Industrial prices, however, remained relatively stable and prices of farm

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products and foods moved into closer alignment with prices of nonagricultural commodities. In retail markets, goods continued to move in sustained volume with the result that inventories were reduced to lower levels and output was again increasing in the final quarter of the calendar year 1934.

CONDITION OF THE FISCAL YEAR 1935

The total expenditure requirements for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, are estimated at approximately \$8,581,000,000, as shown in the General Budget Summary. Of this amount, the sum of \$3,321,000,000 is for regular expenditures, and \$5,260,000,000 for recovery and relief. The regular expenditures are for the following general purposes:

	<i>In millions of dollars</i>
Operation and maintenance of the regular departments and establishments	1,235
Veterans' pensions and benefits	610
Interest on the national debt	835
Tax refunds (excluding processing taxes)	68
	<hr/>
Subtotal	2,748
Debt retirements	573
	<hr/>
Total	3,321

The amount of \$1,235,000,000, mentioned above, includes \$20,000,000 for expenditures estimated to be made this year from an additional sum of approximately \$125,000,000 which will be required for 1935 to make up deficiencies in the appropriations for the regular departments and establishments, including the Veterans' Administration. Of this additional sum, approximately \$65,000,000 will be required to meet the needs of the Veterans Administration due to the application of new laws or revised rules pertaining to service-connected disabilities.

Of the total expenditures for recovery and relief, \$788,000,000 are for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the refunding of processing taxes, while \$4,472,000,000 are de-

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voted to other purposes in the recovery and relief program. During the first 5 months of the current fiscal year the Government expended for recovery and relief \$1,712,000,000, or at the rate of about \$350,000,000 per month.

A summary of the aggregate amounts expended for recovery and relief from February 1, 1932, to November 30, 1934, shows a total figure of \$8,164,900,000. This expenditure has been distributed approximately as follows:

	<i>In millions of dollars</i>
Agricultural aid	1,337.3
Relief	2,783.0
Public works	1,226.2
Aid to home owners	306.3
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	2,351.2
Miscellaneous	160.9
<hr/>	
Total	8,164.9

From February 1, 1932, to November 30, 1934—nearly 3 years—provision for recovery and relief through appropriations and authorizations reached a grand total of \$14,412,400,000. Of this total there remained unexpended on November 30, \$6,247,500,000, a large part of which had already been obligated though not yet actually paid out by the Treasury. The sum of approximately \$900,000,000 from the unobligated portion must, however, be made available for transfer to emergency relief needs during the remaining months of the current fiscal year. Recommendation is therefore made that the Congress provide for the immediate transfer of such unobligated portion for relief during the transition period from direct relief to work relief as outlined in my annual message.

Appropriations for emergency relief purposes will be completely exhausted early in February. Hence it is vitally necessary that unobligated balances of moneys already appropriated be made immediately available to care for the unemployed during the remainder of the fiscal year 1935 and the transition pe-

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riod. Through such action no new appropriation will be required to carry our relief needs for the current fiscal year.

The total receipts for the fiscal year 1935 are estimated at \$3,711,000,000. After deducting from this amount the processing taxes, estimated at \$589,000,000, there remains \$3,122,000,000 to be applied against other expenditures of the Government.

The income tax for 1935 is estimated to yield \$234,000,000 more than in 1934, or a total of \$1,051,000,000. The receipts from miscellaneous internal-revenue taxes, exclusive of processing taxes, are expected to produce \$60,000,000 more in 1935 than in 1934, thus bringing the total yield up to \$1,543,000,000. It is estimated that customs will show a decrease for 1935 under 1934 of about \$26,000,000, due to the Cuban sugar agreement and to the foreign-trade situation in general. Miscellaneous revenues and other receipts from the realization of certain assets are expected to yield for 1935 about \$227,000,000, an increase of \$66,000,000 over 1934.

The deficit for the fiscal year 1935 is estimated at \$4,869,000,000, including \$573,000,000 for statutory debt retirements. On December 26, 1934, the gross national debt stood at \$28,484,000,000. It is estimated that the gross debt on June 30, 1935, will amount to about \$31,000,000,000. In the Budget message of last year it was estimated that the national debt on June 30, 1935, would amount to \$31,800,000,000. According to the latest estimates, the debt will not reach this amount by \$800,000,000.

THE FISCAL YEAR 1936

In the Budget message of last year I said, speaking of the fiscal year 1936, that we should plan to have a definitely balanced Budget for the third year of recovery and from that time on to seek a continued reduction of the national debt.

Despite the substantial measure of recovery achieved since that statement was made, unemployment is still large. The States and local units now provide a smaller proportionate share

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of relief than a year ago and the Federal Government is therefore called upon to continue to aid in this necessary work.

For this reason it is evident that we have not yet reached a point at which a complete balance of the Budget can be obtained. I am, however, submitting to the Congress a Budget for the fiscal year 1936, which balances except for expenditures to give work to the unemployed. If this Budget receives the approval of the Congress, the country will henceforth have the assurance that, with the single exception of this item, every current expenditure of whatever nature will be fully covered by our estimates of current receipts. Such deficit as occurs will be due solely to this cause, and it may be expected to decline as rapidly as private industry is able to reemploy those who now are without work.

A résumé of the financial plan which the General Budget Summary shows for 1936, as compared with 1934 and 1935, is presented on page 34.

The estimated expenditures for the fiscal year 1936, as shown in the General Budget Summary, total in round figures \$8,520,000,000, including statutory debt retirements. Of this amount, \$3,938,000,000 are for regular purposes, and the remainder for recovery and relief. The regular expenditures consist of \$1,622,000,000 for the operation and maintenance of the regular departments and establishments of the Government, which includes \$200,000,000 to be expended from an annual appropriation of \$300,000,000 for public works, as requested in the Budget and as explained below. The other items of regular expenditures are \$740,000,000 for veterans' pensions and benefits, \$875,000,000 for interest on the national debt, \$636,000,000 for statutory debt retirements, and \$65,000,000 for tax refunds (excluding processing tax refunds).

Some of the principal increases in the major expenditure items for 1936 may be cited. The restoration of the final 5 percent of the 15-percent salary reduction amounts to about \$40,000,000 for the regular departments and establishments, exclusive of the Postal Service. The latter service requires an addi-

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[In millions of dollars]

	1934	1935	1936
I. REGULAR:			
1. Receipts	2,763	3,123	3,422
2. Expenditures:			
(1) Operation and maintenance of regular departments and establishments	1,086	1,235	1,622
(2) Veterans' pensions and benefits	556	610	740
(3) Interest on national debt	757	835	875
(4) Tax refunds (exclusive of processing taxes)	63	68	65
Total regular expenditures	2,462	2,748	3,302
II. RECOVERY AND RELIEF:			
1. Agricultural Adjustment Administration:			
Processing taxes	353	589	570
Expenditures (including refunds of processing taxes)	290	788	472
Excess of expenditures over taxes	-63	+199	-98
2. Other recovery and relief expenditures	3,993	4,472	4,110
Total recovery and relief expenditures	3,930	4,671	4,012
Total expenditures (exclusive of debt retirements)	6,392	7,419	7,314
Net deficit	3,629	4,296	3,892
Debt retirements	360	573	636
Gross deficit	3,989	4,869	4,528

tional sum of \$25,000,000 for this purpose. Provision has been made in 1936 for an increase in the civil-service retirement and disability fund of \$20,000,000 over 1935, making a total annual contribution to this fund of \$40,000,000. This increase will enable the Government to meet more nearly its annual obligation with respect to this fund. It has been estimated that this obligation amounts to \$52,000,000, but such estimate has not been sufficiently established to justify its inclusion in the Budget. An effort will be made during the coming year, however, definitely to establish the Government's annual liability, the amount of which will be included in the 1937 Budget. Like-

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wise, an increase of \$50,000,000 is recommended in the veterans' adjusted-service certificate fund, thus bringing the total annual contribution to this fund up to \$100,000,000. The actuarial requirement of the fund for 1936 has been estimated at \$155,000,000. An effort will also be made during the coming year to establish this fund on a more definite basis consistent with the Government's actual liability under existing law. The expenditures for national defense have been increased for 1936 over 1935 by \$180,000,000. This increase is due to the current policy of the Congress and the Executive to make up for the delay by the United States in meeting the provisions of the naval treaties of 1922 and 1930, and to provide replacement and improved equipment for the Army. Veterans' pensions and other requirements have also been increased by about \$130,000,000, after adding to the 1935 figure the estimated supplemental amount previously mentioned, which is due to the application of new laws and revised rules pertaining to service-connected disabilities.

Another increase in the estimated expenditures is \$200,000,000 from an appropriation of \$300,000,000 which I am requesting for public works. This appropriation is intended to take care of the normal public-works requirements of the Government usually included in the annual supply bills, such as Federal highways, river and harbor improvements, and general public works, including the construction program of the Tennessee Valley Authority. This requested appropriation may therefore be regarded as regular instead of emergency. The debt charges for interest and retirements have increased considerably, due to the growth of the national debt, but the decrease in the average annual interest rate has served to keep these charges down.

The estimated expenditures for recovery and relief during 1936 are placed at \$4,110,000,000, excluding \$472,000,000 for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. I recommend that \$4,000,000,000 be appropriated by the Congress in one sum, subject to allocation by the Executive, principally for giving

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work to those unemployed on the relief rolls. An estimate of expenditure covering this amount is included in the Budget.

The total receipts for the fiscal year 1936 are estimated at approximately \$3,992,000,000. When \$570,000,000 of estimated processing taxes are deducted from this amount, there will remain for general purposes, \$3,422,000,000.

The detailed estimates of revenues and receipts for 1936, shown in Statement No. 1, indicate a gain of \$137,000,000 in the collections from income tax over those for 1935. This gain is due to anticipated improvement in business and to the upward revision of rates in the Revenue Act of 1934. The miscellaneous internal-revenue taxes for 1936 are estimated to increase some \$143,000,000 over the collections for 1935. This increase is predicted on the assumption that the taxes terminating on June 30 and July 31, 1935, will be extended by the Congress, and also that the tax rates which would be reduced on June 30, 1935, will be continued. Otherwise there will be a reduction in the total estimate of miscellaneous internal-revenue taxes of \$378,000,000, thus bringing the total estimate down to \$1,308,000,000, excluding processing taxes. Customs are estimated to yield \$298,000,000 for 1936, representing a small increase of \$11,000,000 over 1935. Miscellaneous revenues and other receipts are estimated to produce \$250,000,000, a gain of about \$23,000,000 over 1935.

While I do not consider it advisable at this time to propose any new or additional taxes for the fiscal year 1936, I do recommend that the Congress take steps by suitable legislation to extend the miscellaneous internal-revenue taxes which under existing law will expire next June or July, and also to maintain the current rates of these taxes which will be reduced next June. I consider that such taxes are necessary to the financing of the Budget for 1936.

In this connection, may I say, too, that the postal revenues, as estimated in detail in the annexed budget of the Post Office Department, are based on the continuation of the 3-cent postage rate for nonlocal first-class mail. Unless this rate is continued,

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the postal expenses for 1936, which include steamship and aircraft subsidies and free carriage of Government mail, will be increased by about \$75,000,000, all of which will become an added burden on the general revenues of the Treasury. I, therefore, recommend the extension of the 3-cent rate.

If the estimates submitted in this Budget are approved, and if the expenditures for which authorization is asked are made in full, the deficit, including statutory debt retirements, will amount to \$4,528,000,000 for the fiscal year 1936. The national debt will be increased during this year by approximately \$3,152,000,000, thus bringing the total debt up to \$34,239,000,000. But this increase, as I have pointed out, will be due solely to continued relief of unemployment.

CONTINUATION OF EMERGENCY AGENCIES

A number of the emergency agencies now authorized by law will terminate during the present fiscal year. Most of these agencies fill important present needs and should be continued. As rapidly as seems practicable, I am bringing the administrative expenses of these agencies under the supervision of the Director of the Budget.

ECONOMY LEGISLATION

Many of the estimates of appropriations contained in the Budget are based upon the continuation of certain legislative provisions with reference to economy which are now in force. They are appended hereto and should be reenacted if the estimates are to be sustained. Among those continued is the provision for certain special salary reductions, the suspension of the reenlistment bonus to men of the military and naval services, the reduction in travel allowances of certain postal employees, permitting temporary reassignment of duties of certain postal employees, reduction in fees of jurors and witnesses, permitting transfers between appropriations, and the involuntary retirement of Federal employees having 30 years' service. Specific provision is also made for service credits to certain personnel affected by the sus-

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pension of increases in pay during the fiscal years 1933 to 1935, in the determination of compensation accruing subsequent to June 30, 1935, but without authorizing the payment of the amount that would have been paid during these years. Among the economy provisions which now obtain and which it is not proposed to continue is the 5-percent reduction in compensation of Government employees after July 1, 1935. I see no reason, however, for the restoration of this reduction prior to that date. The index figure of the cost of living, on the basis of which salary restorations are provided by Section 3, Title II, of the Economy Act of 1933, now indicates that such restorations in all probability would not even be justified on next July 1, or for some time thereafter.

IMPROVEMENTS IN THE FORM OF THE BUDGET

Several important changes have been made in the form of the Budget document for 1936. The purpose of these changes has been twofold: (1) To improve the usefulness of the document from the citizens' standpoint, and (2) to provide more adequate treatment of the financial requirements of certain governmental units, such as the Post Office Department and the District of Columbia.

The General Budget Summary, following this message, is designed to present on one page a comprehensive picture of the financial requirements of the Government. It exhibits the anticipated receipts from all sources and the estimated expenditures for all purposes. It also shows the deficit and indicates the proposed means of financing this deficit. Since the figures presented in the summary are necessarily in aggregate amounts, the details of these amounts are shown in six supporting schedules. Both in the summary and in these schedules appropriate columns are carried to provide direct comparisons between the Budget figures for 1936 and the estimated and actual figures for 1935 and 1934.

The revenue estimates are emphasized in this Budget for the first time. These estimates are set forth in Statement No. 1 in

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sufficient detail to show all the principal sources from which the Government gets its income. Accompanying this statement is a supporting text, which analyzes and gives the reasons for the 1936 estimates, and compares them with those for 1935 and with the actual collections for 1934.

Annexed budgets are set up for the major self-supporting or self-contained units of the Government, namely, the Post Office Department, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the District of Columbia. The use of such budgets permits the receipts and expenditures of each of these units to be clearly and completely presented in gross figures and in balanced form, as has not hitherto been done. By following this method, the net figures for each unit, which may be either appropriation needs or surplus receipts, are calculated and then carried to the General Budget Summary. Thus the financial requirements of these units are definitely tied into the general budgetary plan. The annexed budgets are therefore not in any sense independent or multiple budgets but simply integral parts of the Government's general Budget.

BETTER METHODS OF FISCAL CONTROL

In order to promote more satisfactory methods of budgetary control in the Government, I propose this year to inaugurate the policy of having a Summation of the Budget prepared for publication immediately after the Congress has acted on all financial matters. This summation will be ready on or before July 1, unless the Congress is still in session. It will be presented along the lines of the General Budget Summary and supporting schedules, including Statements Nos. 1 and 2, as shown in this Budget. It will exhibit the revenue estimates so revised by the Treasury as to reflect any changes in the economic situation during the preceding six or seven months and also any revisions made by the Congress in the tax laws. It will provide a complete summary of all appropriations and expenditure authorizations made by the Congress and related estimates of expenditures. Lastly, it will indicate the need for executive or administrative

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measures in controlling the execution of the Budget during the fiscal year 1936.

A substantial reduction in the number of appropriation items would facilitate the exercise of budgetary control over expenditures and at the same time make for departmental economy. I, therefore, recommend that the Congress establish a special joint committee to make a detailed study of the appropriation items in each regular appropriation bill with a view to greatly reducing the number of them, consistent with proper budgetary and accounting requirements.

It is my belief that substantial adherence to the general recommendations and total figures presented in this Budget will accomplish three major objectives: (1) The normal functions of the United States Government can be carried on with economy and a high standard of efficiency, (2) the broad obligation of the Government to use all proper efforts to prevent destitution can be maintained under more practical methods than we are using at present, and (3) the excellent credit of the Government will be maintained for the common good.

I believe that the Congress will sustain these objectives.

(See also Item 137 of this volume for further statement on this budget.)

4 ¶ A Recommendation for Adherence to the World Court. January 16, 1935

To the Senate:

THE movement to make international justice practicable and serviceable is not subject to partisan considerations. For years, Republican and Democratic Administrations and party platforms alike have advocated a court of justice to which Nations might voluntarily bring their disputes for judicial decision.

To give concrete realization to this obviously sound and thoroughly American policy, I hope that at an early date the Senate will advise and consent to the adherence by the United States to

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the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, dated December 16, 1920, the Protocol for the Revision of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, dated September 14, 1929, and the Protocol for the Accession of the United States of America to the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, dated September 14, 1929, all of which were submitted to the Senate, December 10, 1930.

I urge that the Senate's consent be given in such form as not to defeat or to delay the objective of adherence.

The sovereignty of the United States will be in no way diminished or jeopardized by such action. At this period in international relationships, when every act is of moment to the future of world peace, the United States has an opportunity once more to throw its weight into the scale in favor of peace.

NOTE: Debate began in the Senate on January 14, 1935, with respect to the resolutions of adherence by the United States to the World Court. Numerous reservations began to be introduced. The foregoing message was sent in order to urge the Senate to adopt a resolution of adherence,

in such a form "as not to defeat or to delay the objective of adherence."

Unfortunately, the Senate voted for it by a vote of only 52 yeas to 36 nays, which was not the required two-thirds majority necessary for adoption.

5 ¶ A Telephoned Greeting to the Holland Society of New York. January 17, 1935

My friends and associates of the Holland Society of New York:

PRESIDENTIAL plans for future engagements are, I find to my sorrow, more susceptible to change than the plans of any private citizen. I had counted for many months on being with all of you tonight on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Holland Society. I take some comfort at least in the fact that it required a reception in the White House to the Judiciary of the United States to keep me away from your dinner.

To the Holland Society

I need not tell you of my long interest in and association with the Holland Society. I feel a just pride in what the Society has stood for as the exponent and recorder of the great contribution made, through three hundred years, by men and women of Netherland descent in the building of the United States.

Our early forbears brought from the Netherlands a quality of endurance against great odds—a quality of quiet determination to conquer obstacles of nature and obstacles of man. That is why for many years I have been so deeply interested in the preservation of the records and monuments left in New York City and the Hudson River Valley by the Dutch pioneers. The influence of New Netherland on the whole Colonial period of our history, which culminated in the War for Independence, has not as yet been fully recognized. It was an influence which made itself felt in all of the other twelve Colonies, and it is an influence which manifests itself today in almost every part of our Union of States.

To all of you I send my greetings. We honor those men and women of early days who made so much out of such small beginnings. Let us who treasure their memories not fall short of the measure of their deeds.

6 ¶ “A Greater Future Economic Security of the American People” —A Message to the Congress on Social Security. January 17, 1935

To the Congress:

IN ADDRESSING you on June 8, 1934, I summarized the main objectives of our American program. Among these was, and is, the security of the men, women, and children of the Nation against certain hazards and vicissitudes of life. This purpose is an essential part of our task. In my annual message to you I promised to submit a definite program of action. This I do in the form of a report to me by a Committee on Economic Security, appointed by me for the purpose of surveying the field and of recommending the basis of legislation.

I am gratified with the work of this Committee and of those who have helped it: The Technical Board on Economic Security drawn from various departments of the Government, the Advisory Council on Economic Security, consisting of informed and public-spirited private citizens and a number of other advisory groups, including a committee on actuarial consultants, a medical advisory board, a dental advisory committee, a hospital advisory committee, a public-health advisory committee, a child-welfare committee and an advisory committee on employment relief. All of those who participated in this notable task of planning this major legislative proposal are ready and willing, at any time, to consult with and assist in any way the appropriate Congressional committees and members, with respect to detailed aspects.

It is my best judgment that this legislation should be brought forward with a minimum of delay. Federal action is necessary to, and conditioned upon, the action of States. Forty-four legislatures are meeting or will meet soon. In order that the necessary State action may be taken promptly it is important that the Federal Government proceed speedily.

A Message on Social Security

The detailed report of the Committee sets forth a series of proposals that will appeal to the sound sense of the American people. It has not attempted the impossible, nor has it failed to exercise sound caution and consideration of all of the factors concerned: the national credit, the rights and responsibilities of States, the capacity of industry to assume financial responsibilities and the fundamental necessity of proceeding in a manner that will merit the enthusiastic support of citizens of all sorts.

It is overwhelmingly important to avoid any danger of permanently discrediting the sound and necessary policy of Federal legislation for economic security by attempting to apply it on too ambitious a scale before actual experience has provided guidance for the permanently safe direction of such efforts. The place of such a fundamental in our future civilization is too precious to be jeopardized now by extravagant action. It is a sound idea—a sound ideal. Most of the other advanced countries of the world have already adopted it and their experience affords the knowledge that social insurance can be made a sound and workable project.

Three principles should be observed in legislation on this subject. First, the system adopted, except for the money necessary to initiate it, should be self-sustaining in the sense that funds for the payment of insurance benefits should not come from the proceeds of general taxation. Second, excepting in old-age insurance, actual management should be left to the States subject to standards established by the Federal Government. Third, sound financial management of the funds and the reserves, and protection of the credit structure of the Nation should be assured by retaining Federal control over all funds through trustees in the Treasury of the United States.

At this time, I recommend the following types of legislation looking to economic security:

1. Unemployment compensation.
2. Old-age benefits, including compulsory and voluntary annuities.
3. Federal aid to dependent children through grants to States

A Message on Social Security

for the support of existing mothers' pension systems and for services for the protection and care of homeless, neglected, dependent, and crippled children.

4. Additional Federal aid to State and local public-health agencies and the strengthening of the Federal Public Health Service. I am not at this time recommending the adoption of so-called "health insurance," although groups representing the medical profession are cooperating with the Federal Government in the further study of the subject and definite progress is being made.

With respect to unemployment compensation, I have concluded that the most practical proposal is the levy of a uniform Federal payroll tax, 90 percent of which should be allowed as an offset to employers contributing under a compulsory State unemployment compensation act. The purpose of this is to afford a requirement of a reasonably uniform character for all States cooperating with the Federal Government and to promote and encourage the passage of unemployment compensation laws in the States. The 10 percent not thus offset should be used to cover the costs of Federal and State administration of this broad system. Thus, States will largely administer unemployment compensation, assisted and guided by the Federal Government. An unemployment compensation system should be constructed in such a way as to afford every practicable aid and incentive toward the larger purpose of employment stabilization. This can be helped by the intelligent planning of both public and private employment. It also can be helped by correlating the system with public employment so that a person who has exhausted his benefits may be eligible for some form of public work as is recommended in this report. Moreover, in order to encourage the stabilization of private employment, Federal legislation should not foreclose the States from establishing means for inducing industries to afford an even greater stabilization of employment.

In the important field of security for our old people, it seems necessary to adopt three principles: First, noncontributory old-age pensions for those who are now too old to build up their own insurance. It is, of course, clear that for perhaps 30 years to come

A Message on Social Security

funds will have to be provided by the States and the Federal Government to meet these pensions. Second, compulsory contributory annuities which in time will establish a self-supporting system for those now young and for future generations. Third, voluntary contributory annuities by which individual initiative can increase the annual amounts received in old age. It is proposed that the Federal Government assume one-half of the cost of the old-age pension plan, which ought ultimately to be supplanted by self-supporting annuity plans.

The amount necessary at this time for the initiation of unemployment compensation, old-age security, children's aid, and the promotion of public health, as outlined in the report of the Committee on Economic Security, is approximately \$100,000,000.

The establishment of sound means toward a greater future economic security of the American people is dictated by a prudent consideration of the hazards involved in our national life. No one can guarantee this country against the dangers of future depressions but we can reduce these dangers. We can eliminate many of the factors that cause economic depressions, and we can provide the means of mitigating their results. This plan for economic security is at once a measure of prevention and a method of alleviation.

We pay now for the dreadful consequence of economic insecurity—and dearly. This plan presents a more equitable and infinitely less expensive means of meeting these costs. We cannot afford to neglect the plain duty before us. I strongly recommend action to attain the objectives sought in this report.

NOTE: Pursuant to the foregoing message, the Congress passed, and I approved, the Social Security Act (Public No. 271, 74th Congress; 49 Stat. 620) on August 14, 1935. It is discussed in Item 107 of this volume. See also Items 6A and 6B of this volume.

6A ¶ A Letter from the President's Committee on Economic Security, Accompanying the Foregoing Message. January 17, 1935

Dear Mr. President:

In your message of June 8, 1934, to the Congress you directed attention to certain fundamental objectives in the great task of reconstruction, an indistinguishable and essential aspect of the immediate task of recovery. You stated, in language that we cannot improve upon:

Our task of reconstruction does not require the creation of new and strange values. It is rather the finding of the way once more to known, but to some degree forgotten, ideals and values. If the means and details are in some instances new, the objectives are as permanent as human nature.

Among our objectives I place the security of the men, women, and children of the Nation first.

This security for the individual and for the family concerns itself primarily with three factors. People want decent homes to live in; they want to locate them where they can engage in productive work; and they want some safeguard against misfortunes which cannot be wholly eliminated in this man-made world of ours.

Subsequent to this message, you created, by Executive Order, this Committee on Economic Security to make recommendations to you on the third of the aspects of security which you outlined—that of safeguards “against misfortunes which cannot be wholly eliminated in this man-made world of ours.”

In the brief time that has intervened, we have sought to analyze the hazards against which special measures of security are necessary, and have tried to bring to bear upon them the world experience with measures designed as safeguards against these hazards. We have analyzed all proposed safeguards of this kind which have received serious consideration in this country. On the basis of all these considerations, we have tried to formulate a program which will represent at least a substantial beginning toward the realization of the objective you presented.

We have had in our employ a small staff which included some of the outstanding experts in this field. This staff has prepared many valuable studies giving the factual background, summarizing Amer-

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ican and foreign experience, presenting actuarial calculations, and making detailed suggestions for legislation and administration.

We have also had the assistance of the Technical Board on Economic Security, provided for in your Executive Order, and composed of 20 people in the Government service, who have special interest and knowledge in some or all aspects of the problem you directed us to study. The Technical Board, functioning as a group, through subcommittees, and as individuals, has aided the staff and the Committee during the entire investigation. Many of the members have devoted much time to this work and have made very important contributions. Plus these, many other people in the Government service have unstintingly aided the Committee in special problems on which their advice and assistance have been sought.

The Advisory Council on Economic Security, appointed by you and constituted of citizens outside of the Government service, chosen from employers, employees, and the general public, has assisted the Committee in weighing the proposals developed by the staff and the Technical Board, and in arriving at a judgment as to their practicability. All members of the Council were people who have important private responsibilities, and many of them also other public duties, but they took time to come to Washington on four separate occasions for meetings extending over several days.

In addition to the Council, this Committee found it advisable to create seven other advisory groups: A committee of actuarial consultants, a medical advisory board, a dental advisory committee, a hospital advisory committee, a public health advisory committee, a child welfare committee, and an advisory committee on employment and relief. All of these committees have contributed suggestions which have been incorporated in this report. The medical advisory board, the dental advisory committee, and the hospital advisory committee are still continuing their consideration of health insurance, but have joined with the public health advisory committee in endorsement of the program for extended public health services which we recommend.

Finally, many hundreds of citizens and organizations in all parts of the country have contributed ideas and suggestions. Three hundred interested citizens, representing practically every State, at their own expense, attended the National Conference on Economic Secu-

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rity, held in Washington on November 14, which was productive of many very good suggestions.

The responsibility for the recommendations we offer is our own. As was inevitable in view of the wide differences of opinion which prevail regarding the best methods of providing protection against the hazards leading to destitution and dependency, we could not accept all of the advice and suggestions offered, but it was distinctly helpful to have all points of view presented and considered.

To all who assisted us or offered suggestions, we are deeply grateful.

In this report we briefly sketch the need for additional safeguards against "the major hazards and vicissitudes of life." We also present recommendations for making a beginning in the development of safeguards against these hazards, and with this report submit drafts of bills to give effect to these recommendations. We realize that some of the measures we recommend are experimental and, like nearly all pioneering legislation, will, in course of time, have to be extended and modified. They represent, however, our best judgment as to the steps which ought to be taken immediately toward the realization of what you termed in your recent message to the Congress "the ambition of the individual to obtain for him and his a proper security, a reasonable leisure, and a decent living throughout life."

Respectfully submitted.

Frances E. Perkins, *Secretary of Labor (Chairman)*

H. Morgenthau, Jr., *Secretary of the Treasury*

Homer Cummings, *Attorney General*

H. A. Wallace, *Secretary of Agriculture*

Harry Hopkins, *Federal Emergency Relief Administrator*

6B ¶ White House Statement Summarizing Report from the President's Committee on Economic Security (Excerpts). January 17, 1935

EMPLOYMENT ASSURANCE

SINCE most people must live by work, the first objective in a program of economic security must be maximum employment. As the major contribution of the Federal Government in providing

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a safeguard against unemployment we suggest employment assurance—the stimulation of private employment and the provision of public employment for those able-bodied workers whom industry cannot employ at a given time. Public work programs are most necessary in periods of severe depression, but may be needed in normal times as well to help meet the problems of stranded communities and over-manned or declining industries. To avoid the evils of hastily planned emergency work, public employment should be planned in advance and coordinated with the construction and developmental policies of the Government and with the State and local public works projects.

We regard work as preferable to other forms of relief where possible. . . . Public funds should be devoted to providing work, rather than to introduce a relief element into what should be strictly an insurance system. . . .

The resources of all public bodies, Federal, State and local, must be coordinated if the policy of employment assurance is to be effectively realized. It would be advantageous to include in the program many types of public employment other than those which are considered necessary for the regular operations of government. . . .

This entire program points immediately and inevitably toward practical advance planning on a broad scale to make the potential resources of a region available for the general welfare of the people involved, and toward detailed development of individual projects. To this end we endorse the recommendation of the National Resources Board for the establishment of a permanent National Planning Board.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

Unemployment compensation, as we conceive it, is a front line of defense, especially valuable for those who are ordinarily steadily employed, but beneficial also in maintaining purchasing power in depression time. While it will not directly benefit those now unemployed until they are reabsorbed in industry, it should be

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instituted at the earliest possible date to increase the security of all who are employed.

We believe that the States should administer unemployment compensation, assisted by the Federal Government. We recommend as essential the imposition of a uniform payroll tax against which credits shall be allowed to industries (which have contributed to unemployment insurance funds) in States that shall have passed compulsory unemployment compensation laws. Through such a uniform payroll tax it will be possible to remove the unfair competitive advantage that employers operating in States which have failed to adopt a compensation system enjoy over employers operating in States which give such protection to their wage earners.

We believe also that it is essential that the Federal Government assume responsibility for safeguarding, investing, and liquidating all reserve funds, in order that these reserves may be utilized to promote economic stability and to avoid dangers inherent in their uncontrolled investment and liquidation. We believe, further, that the Federal Act should require high administrative standards, but should leave wide latitude to the States in other respects, as we deem varied experience necessary within particular provisions in unemployment compensation laws in order to conclude what types are most practicable in this country. . . .

Extended cash benefits seem to us far less desirable than work benefits and we recommend that an employee, after he has exhausted his contractual rights, be certified to the authorities in charge of the Federal work program as entitled to a work benefit. Such certification shall entitle the unemployed insured worker, who has exhausted his cash benefits, to employment on any available public employment project.

The States should make all contributions compulsory and may require them from employers alone, or from employers and employees, with or without contribution by the State Government. The States should have freedom in determining their own waiting periods, benefit rates, maximum benefit periods, etc. We sug-

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gest caution lest they insert in their laws benefit provisions in excess of collections. . . .

To encourage efficient administration, without which unemployment insurance will fail to accomplish its purpose, we believe that the Federal Government should aid the States by granting them sufficient money for proper administration, under conditions designed to insure competence and probity. Among these conditions we deem selection of personnel on a merit basis vital to success. . . .

The plan of unemployment compensation we suggest is frankly experimental. We anticipate that it may require numerous changes with experience, and, we believe, it is so set up that these changes can be made through subsequent legislation as deemed necessary. If we are to wait until everyone interested in the subject is in agreement as to what is a perfect measure before enacting unemployment compensation legislation, there will be a long and unwarranted postponement of action. . . .

OLD-AGE SECURITY

To meet the problem of security for the aged we suggest as complementary measures, non-contributory old-age pensions, compulsory contributory annuities and voluntary contributory annuities, all to be applicable on retirement at age 65 or over.

Only non-contributory old-age pensions will meet the situation of those who are now old and have no means of support. Laws for the payment of old-age pensions on a needs basis are in force in more than half of all States and should be enacted everywhere. Because most of the dependent aged are now on relief lists and derive their support principally from the Federal Government and many of the States cannot assume the financial burden of pensions unaided, we recommend that the Federal Government pay one-half the cost of old-age pensions but not more than \$15 per month for any individual.

Since the Federal Government, under the plan we recommend, is to assume one-half the cost of old-age pensions, we deem it proper that it should require State legislation and administra-

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tion which will insure to all of the needy aged pensions adequate for their support. We recommend that aid be granted only to those States which enact laws that are statewide or territory-wide in scope, and, if administered by political subdivisions, are mandatory upon them. Such laws may limit the granting of pensions to citizens of the United States and residents of the State or Territory, but may not require a longer period of residence than five years, within the last ten years preceding the application for a pension. Property and income limitations may, likewise, be prescribed but no aged person otherwise eligible may be denied a pension whose property does not exceed \$5,000 in value or whose income is not larger than is necessary for a reasonable subsistence compatible with decency and health. The pension to be allowed must be an amount sufficient, with the other income of the pensioner, for such a reasonable subsistence. . . .

CONTRIBUTORY ANNUITIES (COMPULSORY SYSTEM)

The satisfactory way of providing for the old age of those now young is a contributory system of old-age annuities. These will enable younger workers, with matching contributions from their employers, to build up a more adequate old-age protection than it is possible to achieve with pensions based upon a means test. To launch such a system we deem it necessary that workers who are now middle aged or older and who, therefore, cannot in the few remaining years of their industrial life accumulate a substantial reserve be, nevertheless, paid reasonably adequate annuities upon retirement. A portion of these particular annuities will come out of Government funds, but, because receipts from contributions will in the early years greatly exceed annuity payments, it will not be necessary as a financial problem to have Government contribution until after the system has been in operation for thirty years. The combined contributory rate we recommend is 1 percent of payroll to be divided equally between employers and employees, which is to be increased by 1 percent each five years, until the maximum of 5 percent is reached in twenty years. . . .

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The compulsory contributions are to be collected through a tax on payrolls and wages, to be divided equally between the employers and employees. . . .

Both the tax on the employers and the employees is to be collected through the employers, who shall be entitled to deduct the amount paid in the employees' behalf from wages due them. . . .

We suggest that the Federal Government make no contribution from general tax revenues to the fund during the years in which income exceeds payment from the funds, but that it guarantee to make contributions, when the level of payment exceeds income from contributions and interest, sufficient to maintain the reserve at the level of the last year in which income exceeded payments. . . .

No benefits are to be paid until after the system has been in operation for five years, nor to any person who has not made at least 200 weekly contributions, nor before the member has reached the age of 65 and retired from gainful employment. . . .

VOLUNTARY OLD-AGE ANNUITIES

The voluntary system of old-age annuities we suggest as a supplement to the compulsory plan which contemplates that the Government should sell to individuals, on a cost basis, deferred life annuities similar to those issued by commercial insurance companies; that is, in consideration of premiums paid at specified ages, the Government would guarantee the purchasers a definite amount of income starting at 65 for example, and continuing throughout the lifetime of the annuitant. The primary purpose of the plan is to offer persons not included within the compulsory system a systematic and safe method of providing for their old age. It could also be used by insured persons as a means of supplementing the old-age income provided under the compulsory plan. . . .

The plan should be designed primarily for the same income groups as those covered by the compulsory system. Hence, provision should be made for the acceptance of relatively small premiums (as little as one dollar per month) and the maximum annuity

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payable to any individual should be limited to the actuarial equivalent of fifty dollars per month.

There should be a study of the feasibility of Government contributions toward the annuities of people, now middle aged or older, with income of \$2,500 per year or less, who come under this voluntary plan — contributions comparable to the unearned part of the annuities which will be paid by the Government to people of middle age or older who are brought under the compulsory system. . . .

SECURITY FOR CHILDREN

A large group of the children at present maintained by relief will not be aided by employment or unemployment compensation. There are the fatherless and other "young" families without a breadwinner. To meet the problems of the children in these families, no less than forty-five States have enacted children's aid laws, generally called Mothers' Pension Laws. However, due to the present financial difficulty in which many States find themselves, far more of such children are on the relief lists than are in receipt of children's aid benefits. We are strongly of the opinion that these families should be differentiated from the permanent dependents and unemployables, and we believe that the children's aid plan is the method which will best care for their needs. We recommend Federal grants-in-aid on the basis of one-half the State and local expenditures for this purpose (one-third the entire cost).

Such Federal grants-in-aid are a new departure, but it is imperative to give them if the mothers' care method of rearing fatherless families is to become nationally operative. The amount of money required is less than the amount now given to families of this character by the Federal Government by the less desirable route of emergency relief. An initial appropriation of approximately \$25,000,000 per year is believed to be sufficient. . . . Federal grants should be made conditional on passage and enforcement of mandatory State laws and on the submission of

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approved plans assuring minimum standards in investigation, amounts of grants and administration. . . .

We recommend also that the Federal Government give assistance to States in providing local services for the protection and care of homeless, neglected and delinquent children and for child and maternal health services, especially in rural areas. . . .

RISKS ARISING OUT OF ILL HEALTH

As a first measure for meeting the very serious problem of sickness in families with low income we recommend a nationwide preventive public health program. It should be largely financed by State and local governments and administered by State and local health departments, the Federal Government to contribute financial and technical aid. The program contemplates (1) grants-in-aid to be allocated through State departments of health to local areas unable to finance public health programs from State and local resources, (2) direct aid to States in the development of State health services and the training of personnel for State and local health work, and (3) additional personnel in the United States Public Health Service to investigate health problems of interstate or national concern. . . .

ADMINISTRATION

The creation of a Social Insurance Board within the Department of Labor, to be appointed by the President and with terms to insure continuity of administration, is recommended to administer the Federal Unemployment Compensation Act, and the system of Federal contributory old-age annuities.

The Secretary of the Treasury is recommended to have full responsibility for the safeguarding and investment of all social insurance funds. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration is recommended as the most appropriate existing agency for the administration of non-contributing old-age pensions and grants-in-aid for dependent children. If this agency should be abolished, the President should designate the distribution of its work.

It is recommended that all activities of the Federal Govern-

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ment dealing with the administration of laws based on those recommendations be coordinated and systematized.

7 ¶ Suggestions to the National Labor Relations Board Relative to Appeals in Violation of Code Labor Provisions. January 22, 1935

My dear Mr. Chairman:

IT HAS come to my attention that out of a total number of approximately five hundred and fifty different codes, which have been approved and are now in effect, a very small number — probably fewer than five — contain a provision for the consideration and final adjudication of complaints of violation of labor provisions. The existence of this provision in this handful of codes was due to the evolutionary process of code making during the first year of N.R.A. I understand that since those days no provision for final adjudication has entered into any of the later codes.

It is, of course, clear to me that it is reasonable that some provision for appeal should be a part of Government policy. Nevertheless, the fact that Government has approved this provision in these very few codes makes it imperative that Government should live up to the letter of the agreement as long as these codes remain in effect.

I, therefore, request that the National Labor Relations Board conform to the following principles in cases arising under these few codes until such time as the codes themselves may be altered, either by Executive action or by the passage of new laws.

1. Whenever, in an approved code of fair competition, provision is made for the consideration and adjudication of complaints of violation of the labor provisions of the code, and whenever a Committee, Board, or other tribunal has been established under the code to which an appeal can be taken and which is empowered to make a final and enforceable de-

Violations of Code Labor Provisions

cision of such complaints, the National Labor Relations Board will refuse to entertain any such complaint, or to review the record of a hearing thereon, or to take any other action thereon.

2. Whenever a complaint shall be made to the National Labor Relations Board that the tribunal of appeal established under an approved code of fair competition for the final adjudication of labor controversies has not been constituted or is not qualified in accordance with the requirements of such code, the National Labor Relations Board may investigate the merits of such a complaint and submit its recommendations thereon to the President.
3. Whenever, in the case of the type of code referred to in #1, a complaint shall be made to the National Labor Relations Board by either party to a case before the tribunal of appeal that the decision of the tribunal of appeal is contrary to existing interpretations of the law and specifically of Section 7-A of the National Industrial Recovery Act, the National Labor Relations Board may, in its discretion, report to the President as to whether in its judgment the interpretations referred to are contrary to law.

I am inclined to think that as a matter of practice these three rules cover the situation affecting these few special codes and I call your special attention to Rule #3, which should serve to avoid conflicting interpretations of Section 7-A.

Very sincerely yours,

Hon. Francis Biddle,
National Labor Relations Board,
Washington, D. C.

8 ¶ “Men and Nature Must Work Hand in Hand” — A Message to the Congress on the Use of Our National Resources. January 24, 1935

To the Congress:

DURING the three or four centuries of white men on the American continent, we find a continuous striving of civilization against Nature. It is only in recent years that we have learned how greatly by these processes we have harmed Nature and Nature in turn has harmed us.

We should not too largely blame our ancestors, for they found such teeming riches in woods and soil and water, such abundance above the earth and beneath it, such freedom in the taking, that they gave small heed to the results that would follow the filling of their own immediate needs. Most of them, it is true, had come from many-peopled lands where necessity had invoked the preserving of the bounties of Nature. But they had come here for the obtaining of a greater freedom, and it was natural that freedom of conscience and freedom of government should extend itself in their minds to the unrestricted enjoyment of the free use of land and water.

Furthermore, it is only within our own generation that the development of science, leaping forward, has taught us where and how we have violated Nature's immutable laws, and where and how we can commence to repair such havoc as man has wrought.

In recent years little groups of earnest men and women have told us of this havoc: of the cutting of our last stands of virgin timber; of the increasing floods; of the washing away of millions of acres of our top soils; of the lowering of our water-tables; of the dangers of one-crop farming; of the depletion of our minerals — in short, of all the evils that we have brought upon ourselves today and the even greater evils that will attend our children unless we act.

Our National Resources

Such is the condition that attends the exploitation of our natural resources if we continue our planless course.

But another element enters in. Men and Nature must work hand in hand. The throwing out of balance of the resources of Nature throws out of balance also the lives of men. We find millions of our citizens stranded in village and on farm—stranded there because Nature cannot support them in the livelihood they had sought to gain through her. We find other millions gravitated to centers of population so vast that the laws of natural economics have broken down.

If the misuse of natural resources alone were concerned, we should consider our problem only in terms of land and water. It is because misuse extends to what men and women are doing with their occupations and to their many mistakes in herding themselves together that I have chosen, in addressing the Congress, to use the broader term "National Resources."

For the first time in our national history we have made an inventory of our national assets and the problems relating to them. For the first time we have drawn together the foresight of the various planning agencies of the Federal Government and suggested a method and a policy for the future.

I am sending you herewith the report of the National Resources Board, appointed by me on June 30, 1934, to prepare the comprehensive survey which so many of us have sought so long. I transmit also the report made by the Mississippi Valley Committee of the Public Works Administration, which Committee has also acted as the Water Planning Committee in the larger report.

These documents constitute a remarkable foundation for what we hope will be a permanent policy of orderly development in every part of the United States. It is a large subject but it is a great and inspiring subject. May I commend to each and every one of you who constitute the Congress of the United States a careful reading of these reports.

In this inventory of our national wealth we follow the custom of prudent people toward their own private property. We as a

Our National Resources

Nation take stock of what we as a Nation own. We consider the uses to which it can be put. We plan these uses in the light of what we want to be, of what we want to accomplish as a people. We think of our land and water and human resources not as static and sterile possessions but as life-giving assets to be administered by wise provision for future days. We seek to use our natural resources not as a thing apart but as something that is interwoven with industry, labor, finance, taxation, agriculture, homes, recreation, good citizenship. The results of this interweaving will have a greater influence on the future American standard of living than all the rest of our economics put together.

For the coming eighteen months I have asked the Congress for four billion dollars for public projects. A substantial portion of this sum will be used for objectives suggested in this report. As years pass the Government should plan to spend each year a reasonable and continuing sum in the development of this program. It is my hope, for example, that after the immediate crisis of unemployment begins to mend, we can afford to appropriate approximately five hundred million dollars each year for this purpose. Eventually this appropriation should replace all such appropriations given in the past without planning.

A permanent National Resources Board, toward the establishment of which we should be looking forward, would recommend yearly to the President and the Congress priority of projects in the national plan. This will give to the Congress, as is entirely proper, the final determination in relation to the projects and the appropriations involved.

As I have already stated, it is only because of the current emergency of unemployment and because of the physical impossibility of surveying, weighing and testing each and every project that a segregation of items is clearly impossible at the moment.

For the same reason the constituting of fixed and permanent administrative machinery would retard the immediate employment objective.

Our goal must be a national one. Achievements in the arts of communication, of transportation, of mechanized production, of

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agriculture, of mining and of power, do not minimize the rights of State Governments but they go far beyond the economics of State boundaries.

Only through the growth of thought and action in terms of national economics, can we best serve individual lives in individual localities.

It is, as these Reports point out, an error to say that we have "conquered Nature." We must, rather, start to shape our lives in more harmonious relationship with Nature. This is a milestone in our progress toward that end. The future of every American family everywhere will be affected by the action we take.

NOTE: The report of the National Resources Board created by Executive Order No. 6777 (see Item 124 of Vol. III) was a comprehensive one dealing with problems of land, water and minerals, the organization and timing of public works programs, and made available many basic data for State, regional and national planning. It was the first attempt in our national history to make an inventory of our national assets and of the problems which related to them.

The other report referred to in the foregoing message was submitted by the Mississippi Valley Com-

mittee of the Public Works Administration, which later became the Water Planning Committee of the National Resources Board. It had been at work on the water problems of the two-thirds of the country which is drained by the Mississippi River. This report was a further recognition of the broad problems of social and economic policy which are necessary elements in water planning. It emphasized the necessity of an inventory of water resources and brought together data on rainfall, stream flow, underground waters, etc.

See also Item 73, this volume.

9 ¶ A Plea for State Cooperation to Reduce Automobile Accidents. January 24, 1935

My dear Governor:

I AM gravely concerned with the increasing number of deaths and injuries occurring in automobile accidents. Preliminary figures indicate that the total of these losses during the year 1934, greatly exceeded that of any previous year. We should, as a peo-

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ple, be able to solve this problem which so vitally affects the lives and happiness of our citizens.

In order to assist in this, the Federal Government, through the Secretary of Commerce, has taken the leadership in developing remedial measures. Proposals for uniform State legislation have been worked out by the National Conference on Street and Highway Safety with the cooperation of responsible State officials and representatives of interested organizations from all parts of the country.

The remedies that need to be applied are thus available in form which appears to meet the unanimous approval of experienced judgment. The pressing problem is to secure universal application of these remedies which have proved effective where applied.

The responsibility for action rests with the States. There is need for legislation and for the organization of proper agencies of administration and enforcement. There is need also for leadership in education of the public in the safe use of the motor vehicle, which has become an indispensable agency of transportation.

With the legislatures of most of the States meeting during 1935, concerted effort for appropriate action in the States is most important.

Realizing the seriousness of the situation and the urgent need for attention to the problem, I am confident that you will desire to participate in this effort.

Yours very truly,

(The foregoing letter was sent to each Governor in the United States.)

10 ¶ A Presidential Statement on Receipt of the Award of the Schlich Forestry Medal.

January 29, 1935

To the Society of American Foresters:

IT is with a keen sense of appreciation that I accept the award of the Schlich Forestry Medal. I, of course, appreciate your generous recognition of my efforts on behalf of forestry in which I have always been greatly interested; but what I appreciate most of all is that the recognition comes from a profession which from its very inception has looked upon the forests as an instrument for the social and economic betterment of our people—a profession which has always been imbued with an intense spirit of public service.

I consider the social point of view of foresters as most essential to the success of their profession. Forests require many years to mature; consequently the long point of view is necessary if the forests are to be maintained for the good of our country. He who would hold this long point of view must realize the need of subordinating immediate profits for the sake of the future public welfare.

A forest is not solely so many thousand board feet of lumber to be logged when market conditions make it profitable. It is an integral part of our natural land covering, and the most potent factor in maintaining Nature's delicate balance in the organic and inorganic worlds. In his struggle for selfish gain, man has often needlessly tipped the scales so that Nature's balance has been destroyed, and the public welfare has usually been on the short-weighted side. Such public necessities, therefore, must not be destroyed because there is profit for someone in their destruction. The preservation of the forests must be lifted above mere dollars and cents considerations.

For this reason, I consider the conservation provision of the code adopted by the lumber industry as a great step toward rec-

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ognition of the social value of the forests. The essence of this provision should be retained no matter what other changes may be made in the code.

The handling of our forests as a continuous, renewable resource means permanent employment and stability to our country life. The forests are also needed for mitigating extreme climatic fluctuations, holding the soil on the slopes, retaining the moisture in the ground, and controlling the equable flow of water in our streams. The forests are the "lungs" of our land, purifying the air and giving fresh strength to our people. Truly, they make the country more livable.

There is a new awakening to the importance of the forests to the country, and if you foresters remain true to your ideals, the country may confidently trust its most precious heritage to your safe-keeping.

NOTE: Although the acquisition of lands for national forests had been authorized as early as 1911, relatively slow progress had been made up to March 1, 1933. From that time on the program was vigorously promoted. In terms of acreage approved for purchase the progress made in the forty-six months from March 4, 1933, to December 31, 1937, was two and a half times as great as that made during the preceding twenty-two years.

While the enlarged program was founded on the same basic principles as the old program, namely, streamflow protection and timber production, it was motivated by additional social and economic considerations. These included the provision of new opportunities for constructive employment to communities stranded by earlier destructive exploitation of natural

resources, and the preservation of the economic life of communities by Federal acquisition and conservative management of such related timber resources as remained available.

In addition to the numerous permanent benefits arising out of the program, the expenditure of these funds was an appreciable factor in alleviating the financial depression. The funds were quickly placed in circulation by the payment of outstanding obligations, including large payments to counties of delinquent taxes on the lands, by the meeting of payrolls, plant betterment and in other ways. In the then prevailing circumstances, the lands purchased by the United States, while definite capital assets, had become so frozen as to make liquidation impossible except through Federal purchase. The con-

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sequent release of funds distinctly relieved many communities whose credit facilities otherwise would have been inadequate.

The land purchases during the fifty-eight-month period involved 20,106 separate transactions, some representing as little as twenty or forty acres, others many thousands of acres. No one class of landowners exclusively benefited by the program. Lands were acquired from four broad classes: first, owners of occupied or abandoned farms not suited to profitable farming, consisting in part of submarginal fields and pastures and in part of timbered or cut-over forest lands; second, other persons owning and holding small areas of timbered or cut-over lands without means of giving them proper protection or management; third, large timber-operating companies unprepared or unwilling permanently to manage the lands on a sustained yield basis; and fourth, States or counties to which lands had reverted through tax delinquency and which were unprepared or unwilling to assume responsibility for the permanent management of such lands as forest properties. All purchases were by voluntary agreement, condemnation

being employed only as a means to quiet title and with the assistance of the owners of record.

Under Federal management, the acquired lands are expected to be restored to forest use so as to promote one or several of the following objectives of public interest: (a) production of timber to meet the industrial and economic needs of the Nation; (b) stabilization of streamflow to prevent rain run-off and consequent flood damage; (c) limitation of soil erosion to minimize destruction of the social values of lands and the sedimentation of productive lands, reservoirs and navigable channels; (d) creation of conditions for the propagation and perpetuation of adequate supplies of wild animals, birds and fish; and (e) provision to the people of the United States of needed additional facilities for wholesome forms of outdoor recreation.

The program in all of its phases contributes definitely and largely toward the now widely accepted concept of a planned land economy, and is a part of the entire problem of sound land utilization toward which the Nation is now working for effective solution.

The Second Birthday Ball

11 ¶ Radio Address on the Occasion of the President's Second Birthday Ball for the Benefit of Crippled Children. January 30, 1935

MOST of you who hear my voice tonight know in general terms of the story of the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation—of how, from very small beginnings ten years ago, there have been built up two useful, practical factors in the fight against one of the most insidious and baffling of American health problems.

The first has been the work at Warm Springs itself—the joyous task of taking care of scores of children and of trying to bring them back to useful, active participation in life, and also the interesting task of trying new methods which suggest themselves from time to time through the many and constant advances of medical and surgical science.

The other objective, long dreamed of, receives tonight its greatest incentive. In every part of the Nation funds are being raised to give better care to crippled children within or near their own community. Seventy percent of your generous contributions go to these local needs. The other thirty percent go, not to the Warm Springs Foundation, but to a distinguished Committee, to be allocated by this Committee for the furtherance of research into the cause, the prevention and the treatment of infantile paralysis.

I need not tell you of my own deep personal happiness that my birthday is being made the occasion for aiding this splendid work. I wish that I might be with each and every one of you at each and every one of these parties and entertainments in every State in the country.

Today I have also been made happy by thousands of telegrams and letters—so many of them, indeed, that even an enlarged White House staff could not begin to express thanks for them. To all of you who sent them I, therefore, take this opportunity of extending my gratitude.

To all of you who are so generously helping the cause of crip-

A Message on Air Transportation

pled children everywhere, I also send my thanks and my best wishes. I like this kind of a birthday.

12 ¶ A Message to the Congress on Air Transportation. January 31, 1935

To the Congress:

I AM submitting herewith the report of the Federal Aviation Commission appointed by me last summer by direction of the 73d Congress. The Commission has made a diligent study of the broad subject of aviation conditions here and elsewhere and emphasizes the excellent American progress in this new form of transportation. The Commission has also studied problems of national defense, of procurement policies and of the extension of air transport services. I invite your attention to these comprehensive surveys.

As I have suggested on many occasions, it becomes more and more apparent that the Government of the United States should bring about a consolidation of its methods of supervision over all forms of transportation. When the Interstate Commerce Commission was created in 1887 the railroad was practically the principal method of rapid interstate transportation. Since that time this monopoly of transportation enjoyed by the railroad has been limited, to a very important degree, by the development of the automobile and good interstate roads. Recently water transportation by lake, by river, by canal and by oceans has, largely through the construction of the Panama Canal and our inland waterways, definitely brought ships and shipping into the general interstate field. More recently still, air transportation has become an element. All of these developments have changed the general problem of transportation and the concern of the Government with them.

A number of valuable reports have been prepared on these related questions. The report of the Federal Coordinator of Trans-

A Message on Air Transportation

portation has already been submitted to the Congress by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The report deals with the many problems relating to buses, trucks, water carriers and railroads. Other reports of departmental committees on ocean mail subsidies have been completed. This present report on aviation is a similar source of information and advice concerning transportation by air.

I earnestly suggest that the Congress consider these various reports together in the light of the necessity for the development of interrelated planning of our national transportation. At a later date I shall ask the Congress for general legislation centralizing the supervision of air and water and highway transportation, with adjustments of our present methods of organization in order to meet new and additional responsibilities.

There are detailed questions, however, that require early action. Our extended mail contracts with air lines expire on or about March 1st and existing legislation dealing with primary and secondary routes should be revised before that time. The Commission suggests that the Interstate Commerce Commission be given temporarily the power to lower or increase air mail rates as warranted in their judgment after full investigation. The purpose of this is to prevent the destruction of any efficiently operated part of the present system pending suitable consideration by the Congress of what permanent measures should be taken and what amendment, if any, the present general transportation policy of the Government should undergo. I concur in this recommendation of the Federal Aviation Commission provided always that the grant of this duty to the Interstate Commerce Commission be subject to provisions against unreasonable profits by any private carrier. On account of the fact that an essential objective during this temporary period is to provide for the continuation of efficiently operated companies and to guard against their destruction, it is only fair to suggest that during this period any profits at all by such companies should be a secondary consideration. Government aid in this case is legitimate in order to

Extension of the Automobile Code

save companies from disastrous loss but not in order to provide profits.

The Commission further recommends the creation of a temporary Air Commerce Commission. In this recommendation I am unable to concur. I believe that we should avoid the multiplication of separate regulatory agencies in the field of transportation. Therefore in the interim before a permanent consolidated agency is created or designated over transportation as a whole, a division of the Interstate Commerce Commission can well serve the needs of air transportation. In the granting of powers and duties by the Congress orderly government calls for the administration of executive functions by those administrative departments or agencies which have functioned satisfactorily in the past and, on the other hand, calls for the vesting of judicial functions in agencies already accustomed to such powers. It is this principle that should be followed in all of the various aspects of transportation legislation.

13 ¶ Statement by the President on the Extension of the Automobile Code. January 31, 1935

RENEWAL of the Automobile Manufacturing Code brings with it two distinct and important advances which are designed substantially to improve employment conditions in this major industry. No backward steps are taken.

When the code was renewed last November, I expressed the desire that something be done to regularize employment to the end that the annual earnings of employees in the automobile plants be increased as much as possible by steadier and more continuous work throughout the year.

The manufacturers had indicated to me their serious purpose to bring about a greater regularization, and I was informed at that time that they were already engaged in studies to accomplish it.

I also instituted an investigation by the research and planning

Extension of the Automobile Code

division of N.R.A. and the Bureau of Labor Statistics to develop the facts which might enable me to suggest recommendations looking toward greater stability of automobile employment and other improvements in labor conditions.

This investigation and accompanying studies have been prosecuted diligently. In line with recommendations already made and with conclusions reached independently by the manufacturers themselves, I have obtained at this time an expression of willingness to go along with a plan for greater regularization from which benefits may be constantly expected to accrue to workers.

A fulfillment of this understanding is provided for in the Executive Order renewing the code.

First, the plan involves introduction of new models of passenger cars in the fall instead of the winter. This should result in a greater regularity of work and in lessening the spread between the peaks and valleys of employment.

The second advance which has come out of conference is the provision for payment of time and one-half for overtime in excess of forty-eight hours per week, which will benefit the employees through additional compensation for any necessary overtime work and deter the employment of workers in any unnecessary overtime.

It is true that today most employees can work only forty-eight hours; this, however, has to be averaged down to forty hours average for the year. However, certain groups have been subject to being worked at such times as high as sixty or seventy hours per week without any limitation of hours.

The modification in this code extension establishes a principle of time and a half if these groups work more than forty-eight hours.

These are two substantial advances toward regularization of employment for this large group of workers; and I believe that, with the continuance of the provisions made by the Government in the establishment and functioning of the Automobile Labor Board to promote and maintain harmonious labor relations,

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progress of the industry, in its service to the general welfare will be maintained.

14 ¶ An Exchange of Letters with the American Federation of Labor on the Automobile Code.
February 4, 1935

Dear Mr. President:

You are acquainted with the reasons for the withdrawal by the American Federation of Labor from the automobile settlement of March 25th, last. These reasons were made clear to you in a letter sent to you at Hyde Park, September 11, 1934, by President Green of the American Federation of Labor with the accompanying resolutions adopted August 31st by the National Council of Automobile Workers. The reasons for this withdrawal were given you in my letter to you of December 19th and were reiterated in the public announcement made by Mr. Green through the press on the 24th instant, which had heretofore been withheld.

You are thus familiar with our construction of the settlement of March 25th, which is that this was an agreement between the parties to the controversy then threatening a strike, to wit, the automobile manufacturers and the American Federation of Labor. Your successful mediation of this controversy resulted in the announcement by you of the terms of settlement accepted by both sides, one of the terms of which included the appointment of a board with limited jurisdiction—one a labor representative, another an industry representative, and a neutral chairman, all to be appointed by the N.R.A. The labor representative was selected by the American Federation of Labor Federal Labor Unions, as parties to the agreement, the industry member by the manufacturers, as parties to the agreement, and the chairman was designated by the N.R.A. The announcement of the settlement made by you and the appointment of the board were not done under your Executive Order.

An analogy is found in many union contracts with employers under which both sides agree to leave unsettled issues to an arbitration board composed of one member representing the union, one repre-

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senting the employer, and an impartial chairman to be appointed by a Federal District Judge who, if he accepts the task, thus becomes responsible for the appointment. Such an arbitration board, however, is not a judicial board or creature of the court.

You are thoroughly familiar with our view that since this agreement was without duration of time, either party could withdraw by giving notice to the other party. Before the ending of the agreement by such withdrawal all decisions and rulings of the Board within its jurisdiction are binding on the two parties.

This withdrawal is in no sense an abrogation of the agreement, but is a perfectly legal manner of ending it. Had the agreement been for a fixed duration of time, we would have necessarily awaited the expiration date.

The Automobile Labor Board thus had no legal status except under this agreement of the two parties. The withdrawal of one party from the agreement, thus bringing the agreement to an end, naturally terminates the existence of the Board.

During the period of uncertainty pending the public announcement of the withdrawal of the American Federation of Labor from this settlement, serious controversies under Section 7(a) of the Recovery Act have been accumulating in the automobile industry, some of them in their nature outside of the limited jurisdiction of the Automobile Labor Board. These issues are pressing for settlement; some are in an acute stage. The automobile labor problem is today by far the most serious labor problem in America. The facts adduced by the recent N.R.A. investigation of the automobile industry under your order demonstrates this fact.

Automobile workers have the same rights as all other workers in coded industries to self-organization guaranteed them in Section 7(a) of the Recovery Act, and to have their controversies under Section 7(a) submitted to the National Labor Relations Board for investigation and findings of fact, pending a determination by you of whether a special impartial board should be appointed for the automobile industry with full powers. The exercise of this jurisdiction by the National Labor Relations Board will, I am sure, relieve the present tension, which is extremely grave.

Mr. Green's statement and my letter to you of December 19th, regarding the disappointing record of the Automobile Labor Board and its unwarranted ordering of elections among employees without

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the consent and against the wishes of organized labor, make it clear why the personnel of this Board, regardless of other factors, render it completely unacceptable to organized labor.

Respectfully,

Charlton Ogburn

Counsel, American Federation of Labor

The President,
White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Ogburn:

YOUR letter of January 28th and communications along the same line, to which you refer, place a construction upon the creation, powers and functioning of the Automobile Labor Board, with which I cannot agree. The Board was established by the Government and not as a Board of Arbitration, created by the parties to an agreement.

There was in March, 1934, the possibility of a strike in this industry, arising out of controversies particularly concerning the right of employees to organize freely for collective bargaining. The "principles of settlement" at that time recognized, not only the possibility, but the probability that groups of employees in this industry might choose different representatives or organizations to act in their behalf. Provision was made for the N.R.A. to set up a "Board responsible to the President of the United States" and in the "principles of settlement" it was stated that "the Government makes it clear that it favors no particular union or particular form of employee organization or representation."

The Board established by the Government was, therefore, created for the benefit of all employers and employees in the industry and to prevent discrimination against any employee who exercised his right freely to designate his representatives for collective bargaining.

The Board so established is responsible to the President and it is for the President to determine whether the Board is fulfilling

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its duties and how long the existence of the Board should be continued. The Board was not established in the code; but it will be noted that the authority under which the Board and the code were both established expires June 16, 1935.

In the original creation of the Board there was no provision for the nomination of members of the Board by anyone and in accepting advice, or giving to persons an opportunity to suggest selections, the Government did not give to anyone a right to name members or otherwise to determine the membership of the Board.

At the present time the Board is not only functioning to prevent discrimination against employees and otherwise to carry out the purposes of its creation, but it is engaged also in the very important work of holding elections, whereby through secret ballot, under Government supervision, all employees are being given a full and fair opportunity to designate their representatives, choosing them either as individuals, or as representatives of a labor organization. The result of these elections must be to provide for the first time conclusive evidence of how and by whom the employees desire to be represented.

When these elections are completed, the freely chosen representatives of the employees will be able to associate themselves together to bargain collectively, or otherwise to represent the interests of their constituents. Thereby both the employers and the Government will be able to determine the wishes of the employees and will be assured that those who claim to represent the employees and their wishes are, in fact, their duly designated and authorized representatives.

Under these circumstances, it would seem that any organization of employees in this industry, or any organization claiming to represent such employees, would avail itself fully of the opportunity to establish the authentic character of its representation.

From the reports of recent balloting in the elections now being held, it appears clearly that all but a very small percentage of the employees are availing themselves of this opportunity. If the Government should, at this time, annul or impair the power of

To the Boy Scouts of America

the Automobile Labor Board to conduct these elections, it would be placed in the position of preventing the employees from voting instead of fulfilling its promise to afford them a full and fair opportunity to exercise this right.

Very sincerely yours,

Charlton Ogburn, Esq.,
Union Trust Building,
Washington, D. C.

15 ¶ A Message on the Twenty-fifth Anniversary
of the Boy Scouts of America. February 8, 1935

President Head, Members of the Boy Scouts:

THE year 1935 marks the Twenty-fifth Birthday celebration of the Boy Scouts of America. During these years the value of our organization in building character and in training for citizenship has made itself a vital factor in the life of America. That is why not only the Boy Scouts of today, but the millions of men and boys who have graduated through Scouting, will be joined by millions of other Americans in the proper marking and celebration of our anniversary.

As I review the record of these twenty-five years of Scouting in America, I am impressed with the extent of the volunteer service we have rendered. We as a Nation are proud of the fact that in addition to our splendid system of education and of other services made available through funds secured by taxation, there are in each community so many well-organized and efficiently administered agencies which supplement the work of Government and make available additional opportunities which strengthen the best objectives of the home, the church and the school.

Every Scout seeks to do a good turn daily; every troop seeks to accomplish some community benefit; and occasionally, as last year, Scouts everywhere unite to do a good turn nationally. A year ago, as your Honorary President, I started the national Scout effort to collect household furnishings and clothing and

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other supplies for those in need; and the results were truly amazing. Hundreds of thousands of families were helped by the Boy Scouts.

The program for this year, embracing as it does over one million boys, lasts throughout the year. In May there will be a gathering of the Leaders of Scouting at the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the National Council.

But the outstanding event will be America's first National Jamboree, to be held here in the City of Washington from August 21st to August 30th. I hope to attend it in person. Since I extended the invitation a year ago, definite plans have crystallized. With the cooperation of various officials here in Washington a fine camp site has been made available and will be all ready to receive thirty thousand boys when the meeting starts. I am glad to know that the selection of these boys is being made on the basis of merit and, furthermore, that in many cases these boys will come to Washington at the expense of the troop and not merely because the boy's economic situation in life is such as to make it possible for his parents to send him.

Thirty thousand Scouts brought together under such conditions will mean the most thoroughly representative group of American boys ever mobilized for a purpose of this character.

We hope, too, that other countries will send at least small delegations to meet with us on this occasion. Because Scouting is now in active operation in almost every civilized Nation of the world, this will give us a splendid opportunity to enlarge our basis of mutual respect, of understanding and of friendship among the people of the world, regardless of race or creed.

In a moment Dr. West is going to lead the Scouts in thousands of halls and other meeting places in every State in the Union in repeating the Scout Oath and Law. I hope that the people who are listening to my voice will give careful heed to this Scout Oath. It is the basis of good citizenship; it is the basis of good government; it is the basis of orderly progress for our country in the years to come.

16 ¶ A Greeting to the American Federation of Labor. February 11, 1935

I HAVE been particularly glad to receive and discuss common problems with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and to congratulate them upon their enlarged Executive Council, bringing into cooperation more units of the labor movement. The American Federation of Labor has been helpful and cooperative in the development of the programs of the rehabilitation of industry and of our economic life over the past two years, and I hope their cooperation will continue active and effective.

Cooperation with labor as well as with business is essential to the continuation of the programs we are working out for a more stable and more satisfactory industrial life in this country. I have on a number of occasions urged the necessity, as well as the soundness, of furthering the principle of collective bargaining as between labor and management. This is my personal point of view, but it is also set forth in the National Industrial Recovery Act.

In pursuance of the policy referred to, we must fully understand the difficulties attendant upon its accomplishment by reason of the absence, in many respects, of a disciplined order as it refers to both labor and industry. Notwithstanding this, it must be obvious that the best possible results in rehabilitating our economic structure are to be found in the well-organized and highly developed organization of both employees and employers, with their relationship resting upon the foundation of conciliation and arbitration and the full and frank recognition of the inescapable community of interests to be found in the industry itself.

The Federal Government has indicated through the National Industrial Recovery Act its desire that labor and management organize for the purposes of collective bargaining and the furtherance of industrial peace and prosperity, but the Federal Government cannot, of course, undertake to compel employees

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and employers to organize. It should be a voluntary organization.

To you of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, I wish to express my very definite appreciation and recognition of the Federation in the work of rehabilitating industry and in the protection of our country itself. No one can disregard the importance of the American Federation of Labor as one of the great and outstanding institutions of the country. It has been my purpose to recognize this in every practical and logical way, and I have no intention of changing my point of view.

My impression is that our difficulties are found largely in the heretofore totally unorganized field, as it affects both employers and employees. In such cases we must have patience.

Finally, permit me to say that we are seeking to promote peace, cooperation and understanding between labor and management in all of the industries of the United States, to the end that we can eliminate inequities and bring about practical and scientific stabilization for the common good of all those engaged in industry as well as of the Nation itself.

17 ¶ The President Enumerates the Gains under N.R.A. and Recommends Its Extension for Two Years. February 20, 1935

To the Congress:

ON MAY 17, 1933, I asked the Congress to "provide for the machinery necessary for a great cooperative movement throughout all industry in order to obtain wide reemployment, to shorten the working week, to pay a decent wage for the shorter week and to prevent unfair competition and disastrous overproduction."

The National Industrial Recovery Act was passed by the Congress in June, 1933, and the administrative machinery to carry it into effect was set up during the succeeding month.

It is worth remembering that the purpose of this law challenged the imagination of the American people and received their overwhelming support. Enforcement during the earlier life of the Act was not a problem which gave the country concern—for the very good reason that public opinion served as an enforcing agency which potential violators did not dare to oppose. The immediate objective was to check the downward spiral of the great depression, and the Act met this objective and started us on our forward path. It is now clear that in the spring and summer of 1933, many estimates of unemployment in the United States were far too low and we are therefore apt to forget today that the National Industrial Recovery Act was the biggest factor in giving reemployment to approximately 4,000,000 people.

In our progress under the Act the age-long curse of child labor has been lifted, the sweatshop outlawed, and millions of wage earners released from starvation wages and excessive hours of labor. Under it a great advance has been made in the opportunities and assurances of collective bargaining between em-

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ployers and employees. Under it the pattern of a new order of industrial relations is definitely taking shape.

Industry as a whole has also made gains. It has been freed, in part at least, from dishonorable competition brought about not only by overworking and underpaying labor, but by destructive business practices. We have begun to develop new safeguards for small enterprises; and most important of all, business itself recognizes more clearly than at any previous time in our history the advantages and the obligations of cooperation and self-discipline, and the patriotic need of ending unsound financing and unfair practices of all kinds.

Hand in hand with the improving of labor conditions and of industrial practices we have given representation and consideration to the problems of the consuming public. And it is reasonable to state that with certain inevitable exceptions in the case of individual products there has been less gouging in retail sales and prices than in any similar period of increasing demand and rising markets.

The first codes went into effect in July, 1933. Since then approximately 600 have been added. The average age of these codes of fair competition which have been approved—90 percent of the coverable employments are under code—is less than eleven months—a brief time indeed for the definite achievements already made. Only carping critics and those who seek either political advantage or the right again to indulge in unfair practices or exploitation of labor or consumers deliberately seek to quarrel over the obvious fact that a great code of law, of order and of decent business cannot be created in a day or a year.

We must rightly move to correct some things done or left undone. We must work out the coordination of every code with every other code. We must simplify procedure. We must continue to obtain current information as to the working out of code processes. We must constantly improve a personnel which, of necessity, was hastily assembled but which has given loyal and unselfish service to the Government of the country. We must check and clarify such provisions in the various codes as are puz-

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zling to those operating under them. We must make more and more definite the responsibilities of all of the parties concerned.

This Act, which met in its principles with such universal public approval and under which such great general gains have been made, will terminate on June 16th, next. The fundamental purposes and principles of the Act are sound. To abandon them is unthinkable. It would spell the return of industrial and labor chaos.

I therefore recommend to the Congress that the National Industrial Recovery Act be extended for a period of two years.

I recommend that the policy and standards for the administration of the Act should be further defined in order to clarify the legislative purpose and to guide the execution of the law, thus profiting by what we have already learned.

Voluntary submission of codes should be encouraged but at the same time, if an industry fails voluntarily to agree within itself, unquestioned power must rest in the Government to establish in any event certain minimum standards of fair competition in commercial practices, and, especially, adequate standards in labor relations. For example, child labor must not be allowed to return; the fixing of minimum wages and maximum hours is practical and necessary.

The rights of employees freely to organize for the purpose of collective bargaining should be fully protected.

The fundamental principles of the anti-trust laws should be more adequately applied. Monopolies and private price fixing within industries must not be allowed or condoned. "No monopoly should be private." But I submit that in the case of certain natural resources, such as coal, oil and gas, the people of the United States need Government supervision over these resources devised for the purpose of eliminating their waste and of controlling their output and stabilizing employment in them, to the end that the public will be protected and that ruinous price cutting and inordinate profits will both be denied.

We must continue to recognize that incorrigible minorities within an industry, or in the whole field of trade and industry,

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should not be allowed to write the rules of unfair play and compel all others to compete upon their low level. We must make certain that the privilege of cooperating to prevent unfair competition will not be transformed into a license to strangle fair competition under the apparent sanction of the law. Small enterprises especially should be given added protection against discrimination and oppression.

In the development of this legislation I call your attention to the obvious fact that the way to enforce laws, codes and regulations relating to industrial practices is not to seek to put people in jail. We need other and more effective means for the immediate stopping of practices by any individual or by any corporation which are contrary to these principles.

Detailed recommendations along the lines which I have indicated have been made to me by various Departments and Agencies charged with the execution of the present law. These are available for the consideration of the Congress and, although not furnishing anything like a precise and finished draft of legislation, they may be helpful to you in your deliberations.

Let me urge upon the Congress the necessity for an extension of the present Act. The progress we have been able to make has shown us the vast scope of the problems in our industrial life. We need a certain degree of flexibility and of specialized treatment, for our knowledge of the processes and the necessities of this life is still incomplete. By your action you will sustain and hasten the process of industrial recovery which we are now experiencing; you will lighten the burdens of unemployment and economic insecurity.

NOTE: The original N.I.R.A. expired by its own terms within two years on June 16, 1935. Since the creation of the National Industrial Recovery Board (see Item 159, Vol. III) an exhaustive review of N.R.A. operations had been made; and extended conferences had taken place between the officials of N.R.A. and

the other departments and agencies of the Government connected with N.R.A. activities. A program had been prepared for legislation and also for internal reorganization of the activities of N.R.A.

The program of reorganization was intended: (1) to provide for a coordination of general administra-

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tive policies through the Industrial Emergency Committee; (2) to determine and supervise the detail policies of N.R.A. through the National Industrial Recovery Board; (3) to slow down and settle N.R.A. operations in order to bring about a more efficient handling of business; (4) to review and revise code provisions of doubtful wisdom; (5) to work toward a smaller number of enforcement cases by reducing the principal causes of non-compliance, chiefly in unenforceable codes; (6) to eliminate the handling of labor disputes in N.R.A. and transfer them to national and industrial labor boards; (7) to harmonize overlapping code provisions and to end multiple assessments.

At the same time, a legislative program had been worked out which would remove a great many of the features of the original N.R.A. which had been found to be objectionable or unworkable in practice. Included in it were a more definite statement by the Congress of the administrative authorization and delegation of power to carry out the purposes of the Act, a more definite limitation of its scope, and a provision that codification should be limited to those businesses actually engaged in interstate commerce

or so substantially affecting it that the protection of interstate commerce required code protection.

At the time of the foregoing message there was under way a Congressional investigation of N.R.A., promoted chiefly by members hostile to it. As a result, the hearings, ostensibly called to consider the proposed legislative program to revise the law, were devoted more to the complaints about the faults of N.R.A. which would have been largely eradicated by the revision of the law which was being suggested by the Administration.

In the meantime, violations of code requirements and difficulties of enforcing compliance had increased so much that it became evident that it would be necessary soon to establish the validity of the statute in the Supreme Court before adequate enforcement could be obtained. The officials charged with the enforcement of the Act strongly urged that the Congress should first amend the law so as to eliminate legal weaknesses and impossible burdens of administration. The demand arose in the Congress, however, that there should be a Supreme Court review of the original law before any enactment of a substantial revision of it.

The Seed Loan Bill Is Signed

18 ¶ The Seed Loan Bill Is Signed and an Appropriation Is Recommended. February 20, 1935

Sir:

I HAVE the honor to transmit herewith for the consideration of Congress a draft of a proposed provision making available to the Farm Credit Administration the amount of not to exceed \$60,000,000 to carry into effect the provisions of the Act entitled "An Act to provide for loans to farmers for crop production and harvesting during the year 1935, and for other purposes," approved February 20, 1935.

This provision will enable the \$60,000,000 to be made available to the Farm Credit Administration from the appropriation for relief purposes as carried in House Joint Resolution No. 117, 74th Congress, 1st Session, as passed by the House of Representatives on January 24, 1935.

The \$60,000,000 required for making these loans to farmers is for relief purposes principally in the drought-stricken areas and should therefore be defrayed from the general appropriation for relief purposes contained in House Joint Resolution No. 117. As the contemplated expenditures from the pending relief appropriation are included in the 1936 Budget, the inclusion of the \$60,000,000 within such contemplated expenditures will not have the effect of increasing the Budget estimate of expenditures.

Respectfully,

The Speaker of the House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

NOTE: When I approved the 1934 Emergency Crop and Feed Loan Act on February 23, 1934 (see Item 29, Vol. III), I announced that it would have to be a tapering-off measure. However, contrary to our expectations, as a result of the severe drought of 1934 and other causes,

there were still many thousands of farmers who did not have a sufficient credit standing to enable them to borrow from the usual production credit associations or private lending agencies.

Out of the emergency appropriations of \$525,000,000 for drought

Prevention of Wage-Scale Reduction

purposes (see Item 103, Vol. III), there had been loaned for drought feed loans \$72,000,000 among 300,614 loans, of which \$71,000,000 had been loaned in drought areas. The total collections of principal of the loans under this allocation, up to October 31, 1937, have come to the sum of only \$14,087,000, making an average principal loss of \$192.67 on the average loan of \$239. In other words, only about 20 percent of the principal of those loans has been collected.

Under the \$60,000,000 authorized by the Act of Congress passed pursuant to the law about which the foregoing letter was written (Public No. 11, 74th Congress; 49 Stat. 28, approved February 20, 1935) \$57,420,000 was distributed among 424,441 loans, or an average amount of

\$135; \$44,804,000 of these loans were made to farmers affected by the droughts of 1934 and 1935. The total principal collections up to October 31, 1937, have been \$30,565,000, making an average loss per loan of \$63. In other words, only 53 percent of the principal of these loans has been collected.

It was only because of the emergency which had to be met to avoid further spread of unemployment and distress, that the appropriation was made. Adequate provision was made in the bill to insure against any increase in crop production which would have been detrimental to the adjustment program of A.A.A.

See also Item 25, Vol. V, for further discussion of crop production loans.

19 ¶ On the Administration's Objective of Preventing Wage-Scale Reductions. February 21, 1935

Dear Senator Glass:

IN RESPONSE to your telephonic inquiry, I am very glad to repeat what I told you and several members of your Committee last week.

Every action of the Administration during the past two years has been directed, first, to the objective of raising wage scales which, from the point of view of public interest, were set at unconscionably low levels; and, secondly, we have constantly followed the objective of preventing reductions in existing wage scales.

The New Labor Department Building

So much for that, except that I might add that both of these objectives are constantly before us and will continue so to be.

As you are aware, the practical operation of the principle of collective bargaining, plus the operation of the National Industrial Recovery Act, has, in the overwhelming majority of cases of organized and unorganized labor, either raised wages or prevented any reduction in wages.

I object to and deny any assertion that the payment of wages to workers now on the relief rolls at less than the prevailing rate of wages may, under some theory, result in a lowering of wages paid by private employers. I say this because it is an obvious fact — first, that the Federal Government and every State Government will act to prevent reductions, and, secondly, because public opinion throughout the country will not sustain reductions.

I have enough faith in the country to believe that practically 100 percent of employers are patriotic enough to prevent the lowering of wages. In this thought they will have the full support of the Government.

I think that the record of this Administration has demonstrated that in the administering of this legislation I will not permit anything to be done that will result in lowering the wage scale of the Nation.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Carter Glass,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

20 ¶ Presidential Statement on the Dedication of the New Labor Department Building.

February 25, 1935

MY ABSENCE makes it impossible to join in the dedication ceremonies of the new building of the United States Department of Labor but I take this occasion to extend my felicitations to the wage earners of the entire country upon the formal opening of

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the fine new home which now houses the Federal Department directly concerned with their problems.

The organic act creating the Department of Labor says that its purpose shall be to foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment. The department is thus dedicated to the working people of the Republic and is being administered for their economic advancement and their physical well-being.

Activities of the Department of Labor have been broadened and its sphere of influence has been widened in the past two years. Its work is constructive. It seeks the interest of all wage earners through factual findings and the making of recommendations concerning working hours, wages, security, industrial sanitation, community opportunity, health and safety and other problems which bear directly upon the lives and welfare of the working men and women of the country.

It is fitting indeed that with its increased responsibilities the Department should be housed in such a fine building as that which you dedicate today.

21 ¶ The Secretary of the Interior Is Designated to Carry out the Oil Regulation Prescribed by the Congress. Executive Order No. 6979.

February 28, 1935

BY VIRTUE of and pursuant to the authority vested in me by Section 11 of the Act entitled "An Act to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in petroleum and its products by prohibiting the shipment in such commerce of petroleum and its products produced in violation of State law, and for other purposes," approved February 22, 1935 (Public Number 14, 74th Congress), I hereby designate and appoint the Secretary of the Interior as the agent of the President to execute all of the powers and func-

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tions vested in the President by the said Act except those vested in him by Section 4 thereof: *Provided*, that no regulation issued under Section 5 (a) of the said Act the violation of which is punishable by fine or imprisonment shall be effective unless and until approved by the President.

NOTE: After the Supreme Court had declared unconstitutional Section 9-C of the National Industrial Recovery Act (see Introduction to this volume), the Congress passed the so-called Connally Law (49 Stat. 30; Public No. 14, 74th Congress) approved February 22, 1935. This statute eliminated the defects found by the court in the prior legislation, by specifically prohibiting interstate or foreign commerce in contraband or "hot" oil, that is, oil in excess of the amounts permitted under the statutes of the respective oil-producing States. The foregoing Executive Order delegated the powers of the President under the Connally Law to the Secretary of the Interior. Federal Tender Board No. 1 was established under this law on March 1, 1935, and shortly thereafter Federal Petroleum Agency No. 1 was set up to perform the administrative and investigatory functions in connection with the applications for approved tenders.

The Federal Tender Board system has functioned effectively and has prevented any substantial movement in interstate commerce of contraband oil or gasoline. This activity has not only tended to check overproduction of crude pe-

troleum, but has assisted in stabilizing interstate refinery markets. Several attempts to enjoin the activities of the Board have been unsuccessful.

The Connally Law was supposed to have expired by limitation on June 16, 1937, but by Act of Congress, approved June 14, 1937 (Public No. 145, 75th Congress; 50 Stat. 257), the provisions of the Act were extended to June 30, 1939.

Under the Act the oil industry has continued its recovery from the depressing conditions of 1933 and 1934. Indeed, the increasing demand for petroleum products and the mounting production to meet it have of late shifted the emphasis of the problems of the oil industry to the need for conservation of these resources.

In an effort to prevent the waste of petroleum and natural gas and to conserve these natural resources, the Secretary of the Interior established the Petroleum Conservation Division on April 1, 1936. The Division is of general assistance in the enforcement of the Act and is also engaged in cooperating with the various oil-producing States in the study of physical waste of oil and gas and in the enactment of uniform conservation laws.

22 ¶ A Message to the Congress on the United States Merchant Marine. March 4, 1935

To the Congress:

I PRESENT to the Congress the question whether or not the United States should have an adequate merchant marine. To me there are three reasons for answering this question in the affirmative. The first is that in time of peace subsidies granted by other Nations, shipping combines, and other restrictive or rebating methods may well be used to the detriment of American shippers. The maintenance of fair competition alone calls for American flagships of sufficient tonnage to carry a reasonable portion of our foreign commerce.

Second, in the event of a major war in which the United States is not involved, our commerce, in the absence of an adequate American merchant marine, might find itself seriously crippled because of its inability to secure bottoms for neutral peaceful foreign trade.

Third, in the event of a war in which the United States itself might be engaged. American flagships are obviously needed not only for naval auxiliaries, but also for the maintenance of reasonable and necessary commercial intercourse with other Nations. We should remember lessons learned in the last war.

In many instances in our history the Congress has provided for various kinds of disguised subsidies to American shipping. In recent years the Congress has provided this aid in the form of lending money at low rates of interest to American shipping companies for the purpose of building new ships for foreign trade. It has, in addition, appropriated large annual sums under the guise of payments for ocean mail contracts.

This lending of money for ship-building has in practice been a failure. Few ships have been built and many difficulties have arisen over the repayment of the loans. Similar difficulties have attended the granting of ocean mail contracts. The Government today is paying annually about thirty million dollars for the

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carrying of mails which would cost, under normal ocean rates, only three million dollars. The difference, twenty-seven million dollars, is a subsidy, and nothing but a subsidy. But given under this disguised form it is an unsatisfactory and not an honest way of providing the aid that Government ought to give to shipping.

I propose that we end this subterfuge. If the Congress decides that it will maintain a reasonably adequate American merchant marine I believe that it can well afford honestly to call a subsidy by its right name.

Approached in this way a subsidy amounts to a comparatively simple thing. It must be based upon providing for American shipping Government aid to make up the differential between American and foreign shipping costs. It should cover, first, the difference in the cost of building ships; second, the difference in the cost of operating ships; and finally, it should take into consideration the liberal subsidies that many foreign Governments provide for their shipping. Only by meeting this threefold differential can we expect to maintain a reasonable place in ocean commerce for ships flying the American flag, and at the same time maintain American standards.

In setting up adequate provisions for subsidies for American shipping the Congress should provide for the termination of existing ocean mail contracts as rapidly as possible and it should terminate the practice of lending Government money for ship-building. It should provide annual appropriations for subsidies sufficiently large to cover the differentials that I have described.

I am submitting to you herewith two reports dealing with American shipping: a report of an interdepartmental committee known as the Committee on Shipping Policy, appointed June 18, 1934, by the Secretary of Commerce, and a report to me from the Postmaster General on ocean mail contracts prepared pursuant to an Executive Order of July 11, 1934.

Reports which have been made to me by appropriate authorities in the Executive branch of the Government have shown that some American shipping companies have engaged in practices and abuses which should and must be ended. Some of these have

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to do with the improper operating of subsidiary companies, the payment of excessive salaries, the engaging in businesses not directly a part of shipping and other abuses which have made for poor management, improper use of profits and scattered efforts.

Legislation providing for adequate aid to the American merchant marine should include not only adequate appropriation for such purposes and appropriate safeguards for its expenditure, but a reorganization of the machinery for its administration. The quasi-judicial and quasi-legislative duties of the present Shipping Board Bureau of the Department of Commerce should be transferred for the present to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Purely administrative functions, however, such as information and planning, ship inspection, and the maintenance of aids to navigation should, of course, remain in the Department of Commerce.

An American merchant marine is one of our most firmly established traditions. It was, during the first half of our national existence, a great and growing asset. Since then it has declined in value and importance. The time has come to square this traditional ideal with effective performance.

Free competition among the Nations in the building of modern shipping facilities is a manifestation of wholly desirable and wholesome national ambition. In such free competition the American people want us to be properly represented. The American people want to use American ships. Their Government owes it to them to make certain that such ships are in keeping with our national pride and national needs.

NOTE: During the World War the American people were shocked into a realization of the fact that they had no adequate merchant marine to carry American merchandise. That failure to maintain an adequate merchant marine went back to the days of the Civil War.

Although in the early nineteenth century the American clippers had

established the United States among the foremost merchant maritime Nations, the opening of the West turned American attention to railroad building and to the natural resources of the country. Our backs were turned on the sea, and other countries absorbed our shipping.

The World War activity, which

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built and launched many ships with great speed, does not help us today, because our merchant marine is too slow to get the business, too expensive to run and too obsolete to maintain.

Our recent failure has been due to inexperience and also to the absence of any adequate, well-defined policy of ship subsidies. Because of the higher standards of American labor, our ships cost more than those with which they must compete in carrying the trade of the world. The American ship owner must build and operate in a protected market, but must sell his service in a market which is either free or subsidized.

To offset this increased cost our former efforts were directed toward indirect subsidies.

Finally, on March 5, 1935, I transmitted the report of the Postmaster General and the Committee on Shipping Policy, appointed by the Secretary of Commerce, to the Congress in the foregoing message,

in which I recommended the enactment of an undisguised and workable subsidy. I pointed out the failures of our previous methods of indirect assistance such as loans, mail contracts, etc.

Pursuant to the foregoing message, and after a legislative battle, an Act was finally adopted which permits the payment of an outright subsidy equivalent to the actual increased cost of American operation, so as to establish all our essential foreign trade routes on a basis of competitive equality with the ships of other countries at a minimum cost to the taxpayer.

The Maritime Commission, which was created by the new law, was appointed by me on March 9, 1937, and before the ocean mail subsidies, then in effect, ran out, the Commission was able to announce, on June 29, 1937, that it had settled all but a few of the ocean mail contracts and substituted cost differential subsidies in their place.

23 ¶ “The Nation Has Lost One of Its First Citizens”—Presidential Statement on the Death of Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes.

March 6, 1935

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, retired, has left us.

The Nation has lost one of its first citizens.

We cannot minimize the grief of his passing, but we can find

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solace in the thought that he was with us for so long. His was a life of rare distinction; soldier, scholar, author, teacher, jurist and gallant gentleman, he personified throughout his long career the finest American traditions.

Endowed with a keen and piercing intellect which was mel-
lowed by kindly humor and understanding, he had a powerful
and beneficent influence upon the Nation. Imbued with a high
sense of justice and right, he believed in the peaceful evolution
of the new from the old. He had a fine perspective of history as a
continuous and living thing and with courage and logic believed
in the shaping of government to changing conditions.

The people of America mourn the death of the venerable and
beloved Justice.

Mrs. Roosevelt and I have had the high privilege of his friend-
ship for many years. Our sorrow in his passing is great.

24 ¶ A Letter on the Progress Made under the
National Housing Act. March 6, 1935

Dear Mr. Moffett:

THIS will acknowledge your encouraging memorandum on the
operation of the National Housing Act.

I wish to express, through you, my gratification to the chair-
men and members of the Community Better Housing Campaign
Committees throughout the country because of the results they
have accomplished in less than seven months of activity in call-
ing to the attention of property owners the benefits to be derived
under the National Housing Act in modernization and repair
and also in construction of new homes.

I am particularly impressed with your statement that 6,174
communities have selected chairmen of their Better Housing
Committees, and that between 250,000 and 300,000 volunteer
workers are participating through these committees, in the work
of acquainting property owners with the uses they can make of

Progress under the National Housing Act

the Housing Act. It is good to know also that the Better Housing Committees now have a population coverage of approximately 70,000,000 and that 2,100 of these cities and towns are conducting house-to-house canvasses in which thousands of canvassers, in addition to the committee groups, are carrying on this work.

I note that to date calls have been made on over 6,000,000 properties, and that the property owners have pledged 1,100,000 jobs for modernization and repair for a total value of \$275,000,000, and that, in addition, you estimate there has already been spent since last August approximately \$250,000,000 for modernization and repair.

As you point out, with the continued active cooperation of our civic-minded committees, house-to-house canvasses will be conducted by practically every community campaign committee, with many millions of home owners and business property owners yet to be contacted. This activity means that, with the advent of spring, an immense volume of business and employment will undoubtedly be generated. In other words, the American people will clearly see that the Housing Act provides for the Nation a way back to recovery and prosperity.

In regard to construction of new homes, I am glad to know that enabling legislation has been passed during the last sixty days in twenty-six States, and that you anticipate prompt action by the remaining States where enabling legislation is necessary, to permit the mutual mortgage insurance plan to operate. That you already have received applications for millions of dollars of mortgage insurance, with approximately 30 percent of the applications covering the construction of new homes, plainly indicates we may expect a decided improvement in the new home construction field.

I agree with you that the refunding of existing mortgages in long-term, amortized mortgages insured under the National Housing Act will result in a safer mortgage structure for the country and will result in a much needed impetus to home construction, with a resultant tremendous demand for durable goods

On the Religion of the President's Ancestors

and labor, invaluable benefits to business and the community in general.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable James Moffett,
Federal Housing Administrator,
Washington, D. C.

NOTE: For a discussion of the provisions and method of operation of the National Housing Act and the accomplishments pursuant to it, see Item 82, Vol. III.

25 ¶ A Letter on the Religion of the President's Ancestors. March 7, 1935

My dear Mr. Slomovitz:

I am grateful to you for your interesting letter of March 4th. I have no idea as to the source of the story which you say came from my old friend, Chase Osborn. All I know about the origin of the Roosevelt family in this country is that all branches bearing the name are apparently descended from Claes Martensen Van Roosevelt, who came from Holland sometime before 1648—even the year is uncertain. Where he came from in Holland I do not know, nor do I know who his parents were. There was a family of the same name on one of the Dutch Islands and some of the same name living in Holland as lately as thirty or forty years ago, but, frankly, I have never had either the time or the inclination to try to establish the line on the other side of the ocean before they came over here, nearly three hundred years ago.

In the dim distant past they may have been Jews or Catholics or Protestants. What I am more interested in is whether they were good citizens and believers in God. I hope they were both.

Very sincerely yours,

Philip Slomovitz, Esq., Editor,
The Detroit Jewish Chronicle,
Detroit, Michigan

Encouragement to a Sick Boy

26 ¶ A Letter of Encouragement to a Sick Boy.

March 8, 1935

My dear Charles:

One of your good friends has told me about you and of the splendid courage you have shown during your long illness. Just keep up your fine spirit and don't let anything at all discourage you.

I am writing this little note to send you a personal word of cheer and my very best wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

Charles Snow Smith,
Jackson Heights,
Long Island, New York

NOTE: The foregoing is a sample of many similar letters which I have written during my term in office to crippled or sick children in various hospitals.

27 ¶ A Recommendation for the Regulation of Public Utility Holding Companies.

March 12, 1935

To the Congress:

I AM TRANSMITTING to you herewith a report submitted to me by the National Power Policy Committee. I named this Committee last summer from among the Departments of the Government concerned with power problems to make a series of reports to coordinate Government policy on such problems. This report I am submitting to you is the recommendation of the Committee with respect to the treatment of holding companies in the public utility field. It deserves the careful attention of every Member of the Congress.

The so-called "Public Utility Holding Company Bill" (Title I of House bill 5423 and of Senate bill 1725), which was drafted under the direction of Congressional leaders, incorporates many of the recommendations of this report.

I have been watching with great interest the fight being waged against public utility holding-company legislation. I have watched the use of investors' money to make the investor believe that the efforts of Government to protect him are designed to defraud him. I have seen much of the propaganda prepared against such legislation—even down to mimeographed sheets of instructions for propaganda to exploit the most far-fetched and fallacious fears. I have seen enough to be as unimpressed by it as I was by the similar effort to stir up the country against the Securities Exchange bill last spring. The Securities Exchange Act is now generally accepted as a constructive measure, and I feel confident that any fears now entertained in regard to proposed utility holding-company legislation will prove as groundless as those last spring in the case of the Securities Exchange Act.

So much has been said through chain letters and circulars and by word of mouth that misrepresents the intent and purpose of

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a new law that it is important that the people of the country understand once and for all the actual facts of the case. Such a measure will not destroy legitimate business or wholesome and productive investment. It will not destroy a penny of actual value of those operating properties which holding companies now control and which holding company securities represent in so far as they have any value. On the contrary, it will surround the necessary reorganization of the holding company with safeguards which will in fact protect the investor.

We seek to establish the sound principle that the utility holding company so long as it is permitted to continue should not profit from dealings with subsidiaries and affiliates where there is no semblance of actual bargaining to get the best value and the best price. If a management company is equipped to offer a genuinely economic management service to the smaller operating utility companies, it ought not to own stock in the companies it manages, and its fees ought to be reasonable. The holding company should not be permitted to establish a sphere of influence from which independent engineering, construction, and other private enterprise are excluded by a none too benevolent private paternalism. If a management company is controlled by related operating companies, it should be organized on a truly mutual and cooperative basis and should be required to perform its services at actual cost demonstrably lower than the services can be obtained in a free and open market.

We do not seek to prevent the legitimate diversification of investment in operating utility companies by legitimate investment companies. But the holding company in the past has confused the function of control and management with that of investment and in consequence has more frequently than not failed in both functions. Possibly some holding companies may be able to divest themselves of the control of their present subsidiaries and become investment trusts. But an investment company ceases to be an investment company when it embarks into business and management. Investment judgment requires the judicial appraisal of other people's management.

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The disappearance at the end of 5 years of those utility holding companies which cannot justify themselves as necessary for the functioning of the operating utility companies of the country is an objective which Congressional leaders I have consulted deem essential to a realistic and farsighted treatment of the evils of public utility holding companies. For practical reasons we should offer a chance of survival to those holding companies which can prove to the Securities and Exchange Commission that their existence is necessary for the achievement of the public ends which private utility companies are supposed to serve. For such companies, and during the interim period for other companies, the proposal for a comprehensive plan of public regulation and control is sound.

But where the utility holding company does not perform a demonstrably useful and necessary function in the operating industry and is used simply as a means of financial control, it is idle to talk of the continuation of holding companies on the assumption that regulation can protect the public against them. Regulation has small chance of ultimate success against the kind of concentrated wealth and economic power which holding companies have shown the ability to acquire in the utility field. No Government effort can be expected to carry out effective, continuous, and intricate regulation of the kind of private empires within the Nation which the holding company device has proved capable of creating.

Except where it is absolutely necessary to the continued functioning of a geographically integrated operating utility system, the utility holding company with its present powers must go. If we could remake our financial history in the light of experience, certainly we would have none of this holding company business. It is a device which does not belong to our American traditions of law and business. It is only a comparatively late innovation. It dates definitely from the same unfortunate period which marked the beginnings of a host of other laxities in our corporate law which have brought us to our present disgraceful condition of competitive charter-mongering between our States. And

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it offers too well-demonstrated temptation to and facility for abuse to be tolerated as a recognized business institution. That temptation and that facility are inherent in its very nature. It is a corporate invention which can give a few corporate insiders unwarranted and intolerable powers over other people's money. In its destruction of local control and its substitution of absentee management, it has built up in the public utility field what has justly been called a system of private socialism which is inimical to the welfare of a free people.

Most of us agree that we should take the control and the benefits of the essentially local operating utility industry out of a few financial centers and give back that control and those benefits to the localities which produce the business and create the wealth. We can properly favor economically independent business, which stands on its own feet and diffuses power and responsibility among the many, and frowns upon those holding companies which, through interlocking directorates and other devices, have given tyrannical power and exclusive opportunity to a favored few. It is time to make an effort to reverse that process of the concentration of power which has made most American citizens, once traditionally independent owners of their own businesses, helplessly dependent for their daily bread upon the favor of a very few, who, by devices such as holding companies, have taken for themselves unwarranted economic power. I am against private socialism of concentrated private power as thoroughly as I am against governmental socialism. The one is equally as dangerous as the other; and destruction of private socialism is utterly essential to avoid governmental socialism.

NOTE: Following a prolonged study by the Federal Trade Commission, a special report prepared for the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and a report by the National Power Policy Committee appointed by me in 1934, a bill had been introduced in the Congress for the regulation

of public utility holding companies controlling gas and electric operating companies.

The public utility holding company device during the boom period before 1929 had assumed tremendous proportions. While, of course, the distribution of gas or electricity in any community as a

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supervised and regulated monopoly is justifiable in order to avoid uneconomic duplication of plants, there is no justification for an extension of that idea of local monopoly to include the common control by a few powerful individual interests of numerous utility plants scattered throughout many States and totally unconnected in operations.

In 1925, holding companies controlled about 65 percent of the operating electric utility industry. By 1932, thirteen holding groups had seized control of three-fourths of the entire industry, and more than 40 percent was concentrated in the hands of three large groups—United Corporation, Electric Bond and Share Company, and Insull. Even these three systems were not entirely independent. By the same period eleven holding company systems had obtained control of more than 80 percent of the total mileage of natural gas trunk pipe lines.

Through the device of these pyramided holding companies, small groups of men with a disproportionately small investment were able to dominate and to manage solely in their own interest tremendous capital investments of other people's money. This concentration of power had become a form of private socialism as dangerous as Government socialism.

There had been no attempt to build up systems as an integrated economic whole which might bring actual benefits of economy and ef-

ficiency by related operations and unified management. The large and often unnecessary capitalization required the declaration of unreasonable dividends on the securities of the holding companies.

The consumer in addition to paying the high gas and electricity rates for these unjustifiable dividends had to bear also the burden of paying rates high enough to pay for the many fees, commissions and other charges levied by the holding companies against their subsidiaries—for management, engineering, accounting, publicity, legal, tax and other general and special services. The charges so taken by these holding companies from their subsidiary operating companies did not represent bargains freely and openly arrived at by the subsidiary companies in the competitive market. They were dictated by the few individuals who control the holding company.

The holding companies acquired new property frequently from corporate insiders at exorbitant prices and issued securities on which interest had to be paid wholly out of line with the value of the securities acquired.

Transactions such as these discourage intelligent permanent investors, and serve no useful purpose to the community other than speculation and easy profits for the few insiders.

We determined that only by Federal legislation could security transactions and investments of holding

A Tribute to Grover Cleveland

companies be adequately supervised and controlled in the interest of obtaining lower rates, promoting greater and widespread use of gas and electricity, and affording sufficient protection to legitimate investors in utility stocks and bonds.

Attempts by State commissions so to protect consumers and investors from holding company practices had been necessarily unsuccessful, because of the nationwide form which the holding company assumed. Electric Bond and Share Company, for example, had operating companies in thirty-two of the forty-eight States. Many holding companies had affiliations with banking interests, construction companies, coal mines, newspapers and other interests throughout the United States. The State commissions' powers and funds were too limited to make thorough and effective control possible over these far-flung holding company operations. Besides, by many devious legal and corporate devices, holding companies had always arranged to keep their organization and operations out of reach of State regu-

lation. The only instrumentality for adequate supervision is the Federal Government.

The Democratic National Platform of 1932 stated: "We advocate regulation to the full extent of Federal power of (a) holding companies which sell securities in interstate commerce. . . ."

Much propaganda and misinformation had been spread by public utility interests concerning the effect of the legislation which had been introduced.

The foregoing message discusses some of this propaganda and points out the beneficial results to be anticipated from enactment of the legislation. The fight waged against this legislation by the public utility companies, largely with the money of their stockholders without obtaining the consent of the stockholders, continued for several months.

On April 28, 1935, I discussed the matter in a radio talk with the people of the Nation. (See Item 48, this volume.)

See also Items 82 and 110 of this volume.

28 ¶ A Tribute to Grover Cleveland.

March 15, 1935

My dear Dr. Robinson:

NOTHING could give me greater pleasure than this opportunity to express my appreciation of Grover Cleveland on the occasion of his birthday. The passage of time does not dim his memory,

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but rather serves to enlarge the stature of a character so simple, so straightforward that it neither requires nor permits the tribute of our rhetoric. The imprint of that character upon our American life becomes constantly deeper, more distinct, lastingly carved in letters which say: "Here was a man."

Grover Cleveland's long career in the service of his country was founded upon the belief that the Government exists to serve the people; in behalf of this creed, he was prepared to work, to fight—to be misunderstood. His decisions came from principle, and his principles came from what he believed to be right.

The value of such a leader far outlasts the span of his own brief life and becomes an ever-present force for righteousness in the generations that follow. I commend the study of Grover Cleveland to all our fellow citizens in the knowledge that they will find in him a pattern of patriotic conduct.

Sincerely yours,

David Robinson, Esquire,
Secretary, Grover Cleveland Association,
New York, N. Y.

(This letter was read before the Association in New York City on the ninety-eighth anniversary of the birth of President Cleveland.)

29 ¶ White House Statement on the Investigation of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. March 15, 1935

The President late today signed the joint resolution authorizing and directing the Federal Communications Commission to investigate and report on the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and on all other companies engaged directly or indirectly in telephone communication in interstate commerce, including all companies related to any of these companies through a holding company structure, or otherwise.

The resolution appropriates \$750,000 to be made immediately

American Telephone and Telegraph Co.

available to the Federal Communications Commission for the purpose of the investigation.

This appropriation also would defray expenses of the special reports to Congress the commission is ordered to make as the investigation progresses and its findings are reached.

NOTE: The Resolution mentioned in the foregoing statement (Pub. Res. No. 8, 74th Congress) authorized and directed the Federal Communications Commission to investigate and report to the Congress on matters with respect to the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and all other companies engaged, directly or indirectly, in telephone communication in interstate commerce, including all companies related to any of these companies through a holding company structure, or otherwise. Particularly the Commission was directed to investigate and report on the following matters, among others:

1. The corporate and financial interrelationships and their possible resulting effect of evasion of regulation and taxation.
2. Intercompany contracts and the effect of such relationship upon rates.
3. The probable savings to telephone operating companies and the public by purchasing equipment under a system of competitive bidding.
4. The reasons for the failure to re-

duce telephone rates during years of declining prices.

5. The effect of monopolistic control upon rates and upon service.
6. The effect upon the public interest of mergers, consolidations and acquisition of control.
7. Accounting methods of the companies.
8. Whether or not the companies, through propaganda or the expenditure of money or the control of channels of publicity, have sought to influence or control public opinion, legislative or administrative action, or elections.

During the period since the beginning of the investigation and study required by the Resolution, long-distance telephone rate reductions have been made, totaling approximately \$24,000,000 annually. Reductions totaling \$250,000 per year have been made in wire service charges to radio stations.

A report as to the facts found and proposed recommendations by the Federal Communications Commission is now being prepared by the Commission, to be made to Congress in 1938.

Denying T.V.A. Propaganda

30 ¶ A Letter Denying Propaganda that T.V.A.
Seeks to Lure Northern Industry to the South.

March 16, 1935

My dear Mr. Thom:

THIS is in reply to your letter of February twenty-first, in which you call to my attention the report that representatives of the T.V.A. are endeavoring to induce Ohio manufacturers to move to the Tennessee Valley in order to secure the benefits of cheap power.

It is a very definite policy of the Tennessee Valley Authority that no such action be taken in respect to Ohio or any other region.

The letter to you from Mr. Portmann quotes the Ohio Chamber of Commerce as saying: "Those Chambers of Commerce in the North which were recently shocked to find representatives of the Tennessee Valley Authority in our cities, calling upon their industries to urge them to move to southern cities to secure cheap labor, etc."

The Ohio Chamber of Commerce should not make such a statement without definite proof. It would materially aid the Tennessee Valley Authority in carrying out its policy if the Chamber would give us exact information as to the person who claimed to represent the Authority in any negotiations to induce your industry to move South. It seems reasonable that any manufacturer so approached would not deal with an anonymous person, and therefore the Chamber should have no difficulty in furnishing us with definite information.

You are aware, of course, that special interests are constantly attempting to thwart the program which Congress has set up for the Tennessee Valley. In this campaign against the T.V.A. the charge is being circulated in the North that the T.V.A. is endeavoring to lure industry to the South. Citizens of the South are being told that T.V.A. cannot bring in industry but that private

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power companies have drawn and can draw industries from the North.

On November 7, 1934, Mr. Willkie, President of Commonwealth and Southern Corporation, in a public address in Birmingham, Alabama, made the following statement:

"Dr. Morgan said it was against the policy of the T.V.A. to remove industries from other sections of the country to the Tennessee Valley. I understand why the T.V.A. must take that position. The Alabama Power Company can remove industries from the North because it is a business concern, but the T.V.A. can't remove them because it is a part of our Government, and therefore has to think of the political effect on the community from which the industry is removed. . . .

"I can tell you why we maintain an office in New York. . . . It is solely because of two reasons: first, to have a convenient and advantageous point from which we can work with the Alabama Power Company and other companies to secure the removal of Northern industry to this area. How successfully we have done this, perhaps you can judge by the fact that in the past decade the new industries division of the Alabama Power Company aided directly or indirectly in the location of 245 new industries in 129 different communities in your State. . . ."

The Chamber's statement concerning freight rates answers itself. The Chamber knows, as we all do, that freight rates are adjusted by the Interstate Commerce Commission after full and complete hearings.

The Chamber's judicial attitude in circulating these reports may well be gauged by noting whether it warns its members of the private utilities' purpose as announced by Mr. Willkie.

I wish you would run down the statements made by the Ohio Chamber of Commerce and demand substantiation of them.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable William R. Thom,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

31 ¶ The President Moves against Politics in Relief. March 16, 1935

My dear Mr. Hopkins:

I HAVE examined the evidence concerning corrupt political interference with relief in the State of Ohio. Such interference cannot be tolerated for a moment. I wish you to pursue these investigations diligently and let the chips fall where they may. This Administration will not permit the relief population of Ohio to become the innocent victims of either corruption or political chicanery.

You are authorized and directed forthwith to assume entire control of the administration of Federal relief in the State of Ohio.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Harry L. Hopkins,
Federal Emergency Relief Administration,
Washington, D. C.

32 ¶ Progress in Our Fight against the Narcotic Evil. A Letter to the World Narcotic Defense Association. March 21, 1935

My dear Admiral Hobson:

WHEN the present Administration took office ten countries had ratified the Geneva Narcotic Limitation Convention. The United States was one of these ten. Between March 4 and April 10, 1933, twenty other countries deposited their ratifications and the Treaty went into operation on July 9, 1933. It was my privilege, as President, to proclaim, on that day, that this Treaty had become effective throughout the jurisdiction of the United States. Since then, nineteen additional ratifications have been deposited at Geneva and the Treaty has now become the basis of interna-

Our Fight against the Narcotic Evil

tional accord on narcotics. Already its influence has produced a profound effect upon the supply and the distribution of illicit narcotic drugs.

An imperative duty rests upon us as a people. Full effect can be given to the terms of the drug conventions only by supporting legislation enacted by the ratifying Nations. In this country, Federal laws have already been passed. Under our dual form of Government, the power to enact an essential part of this legislation is possessed by the States and by them alone. The provisions necessary for the fulfillment of the duties thus vested in our several States, are incorporated in the draft of the Uniform State Narcotic Law now pending before the legislatures of many of our States. This draft was prepared with great care and has received the endorsement and approval of a large number of responsible organizations of the country, including the American Bar Association and the American Medical Association.

While it was my privilege to proclaim that the Treaty of 1931 became operative in our country on July 9, 1933, it is now the high privilege of the legislatures of the several States to give full effect to the beneficent terms of this Treaty by the enactment of suitable and uniform narcotic legislation. By so doing the legislatures will give to their own people far better protection than they now have against the ravages of the narcotic drug evil and at the same time they will strengthen the hands of the United States in its efforts to aid them and further to combat this evil abroad through full cooperation between our country and other Nations.

On January 1, 1933, only nine Nations had registered their ratification of the Limitation Treaty. On January 1, 1935, only nine States had adopted the Uniform State statute. As 1933 witnessed ratification of the Treaty by thirty-one additional Nations, so may 1935 witness the adoption of the Uniform Drug Act by at least thirty-one more States, thereby placing interstate accord abreast of international accord, to the honor of the legislative

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bodies of our States and for the promotion of the welfare of our people and the peoples of other lands.

Very sincerely yours,

Admiral Richmond P. Hobson,
President, World Narcotic Defense Association,
The Army and Navy Club,
Washington, D. C.

33 ¶ A Message to the Congress on Pure Foods
and Drugs. March 22, 1935

To the Congress:

EVERY enterprise in the United States should be able to adhere to the simple principle of honesty without fear of penalty on that account. Honesty ought to be the best policy not only for one individual, or one enterprise, but for every individual and every enterprise in the Nation. In one field of endeavor there is an obvious means to this end which has been too long neglected: the setting up and careful enforcement of standards of identity and quality for the food we eat and the drugs we use, together with the strict exclusion from our markets of harmful or adulterated products.

The honor of the producers in a country ought to be the invariable ingredient of the products produced in it. The various qualities of goods require a kind of discrimination which is not at the command of consumers. They are likely to confuse outward appearance with inward integrity. In such a situation as has grown up through our rising level of living and our multiplication of goods, consumers are prevented from choosing intelligently and producers are handicapped in any attempt to maintain higher standards. Only the scientific and disinterested activity of Government can protect this honor of our producers and provide the possibility of discriminating choice to our consumers.

These principles have long been those on which we have

On Pure Foods and Drugs

founded public policy. But we have fallen behind in their practical application. No comprehensive attempt at reform in the regulation of commerce in food and drugs has been made since 1906. I need not point out to you how much has happened since that time in the invention of new things and their general adoption, as well as in the increase of advertising appeals. Because of these changes loopholes have appeared in the old law which have made abuses easy.

It is time to make practical improvements. A measure is needed which will extend to advertising also the controls formerly applicable only to labels; which will extend protection to the trade in cosmetics; which will provide for a cooperative method of setting standards and for a system of inspection and enforcement to reassure consumers grown hesitant and doubtful; and which will provide for a necessary flexibility in administration as products and conditions change.

I understand this subject has been studied and discussed for the last two years and that full information is in the possession of the Congress.

No honest enterpriser need fear that because of the passage of such a measure he will be unfairly treated. He would be asked to do no more than he now holds himself out to do. It would merely make certain that those who are less scrupulous than I know most of our producers to be, cannot force their more honest competitors into dishonorable ways.

The great majority of those engaged in the trade in food and drugs do not need regulation. They observe the spirit as well as the letter of existing law. Present legislation ought to be directed primarily toward a small minority of evaders and chisellers. At the same time even-handed regulation will not only outlaw the bad practices of the few but will also protect the many from unscrupulous competition. It will, besides, provide a bulwark of consumer confidence throughout the business world.

It is my hope that such legislation may be enacted at this session of the Congress.

Proposed Constitution of the Philippine Islands

NOTE: The foregoing message is typical of the Administration's recognition of the importance of adequate governmental supervision of our food and drug supply.

The budget messages for 1936-37-38 contained recommendations for substantial increases in the appropriations for enforcement of the Food and Drugs Act. While these recommendations were not approved in full by the Congress, there were nevertheless material increases in the available appropriation for necessary enforcement for these years.

My foregoing message outlines the need for effective public protection against adulterated and misbranded foods and drugs, points out the necessity for a modernized law to cope with developments in commerce since the enactment of the original Food and Drugs Act of 1906, the need of comparable regulation of cosmetics, and urges upon the Congress the speedy enactment of adequate legislation.

Up to today, in the winter of 1937, the Congress has wholly failed to strengthen the law.

34 ¶ Statement by the President on Certification of the Proposed Constitution of the Philippine Islands. March 23, 1935

I AM happy to state that the Constitution submitted to me on behalf of the Philippine Constitutional Convention for certification under the Tydings-McDuffie Independence Act conforms with the provisions of the Act.

The members of the Convention are congratulated on the satisfactory completion of a task so important and significant in the life of their people.

In the event of ratification of this Constitution, the authority granted to the Commonwealth Government will permit exercise by the Filipino people of general control of their local affairs, subject only to a few important exceptions.

During the period of the Commonwealth, there will remain with the Government of the United States authority commensurate with and necessary for or appropriate to the ultimate responsibilities of sovereignty.

Animated solely by feelings of cordiality, sympathy and loyalty,

Proposed Constitution of the Philippine Islands

the people of the United States and the people of the Philippine Islands have been conducting together a great experiment, and during the period of the Commonwealth Government this experiment will continue until the ultimate withdrawal of United States sovereignty and the establishment of complete independence.

(See following Item and Note.)

34A ¶ Message to the Congress on Certification of the Proposed Constitution of the Philippine Islands. March 23, 1935

To the Congress:

I HAVE pleasure in informing the Congress that I have today certified to the Governor General of the Philippine Islands that the proposed Constitution of the Philippines as adopted by the Philippine Constitutional Convention conforms substantially with the provisions of the Act of Congress approved March 24, 1934 (United States Statutes at Large, Volume 48, Pages 456-465).

NOTE: The inauguration of the Commonwealth Government having been set for November 15, 1935 (see Item 34 of Vol. III), I issued a Proclamation of the existence of the new Commonwealth of the Philippines, and sent a cablegram of congratulations on November 14th to Secretary of War Dern, my repre-

sentative in Manila, all of which are printed as Item 164 of this volume.

The new Commonwealth was honored at a special convocation called at Notre Dame University on December 9, 1935, at which I made a speech, printed as Item 179 of this volume.

35 ¶ A Letter on Code Compliance.

March 25, 1935

Dear Mr. Richberg:

BEFORE leaving Washington I wish to answer your letter of to-day and to express to the National Industrial Recovery Board my desire that the full power of the National Recovery Administration shall be exerted to insist upon and to obtain compliance with the requirements of approved codes of fair competition. There is no excuse whatsoever at the present time for members of trade and industry who have sponsored and are subject to these codes to fail to give them wholehearted support. Nor can there be any justification for the bad faith involved in attempting to lengthen hours or reduce wages contrary to code requirements. I am particularly requesting the Department of Justice to give every assistance in maintaining compliance with the codes and in advising the District Attorneys throughout the country to take prompt and vigorous action to prevent or to punish such violations.

Let me also suggest that the National Industrial Recovery Board bring the facts of this situation to the attention of the appropriate committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives so that they may understand the importance of accelerating action to extend the National Industrial Recovery Act and to end a period of uncertainty as to the provisions and the extension of the law which has a retarding effect upon industrial recovery and tends to unsettle commercial and labor relations.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Donald R. Richberg, Chairman,
National Industrial Recovery Board,
Washington, D. C.

NOTE: Early in 1935 the famous Belcher case, an important challenge to the constitutionality of the National Industrial Recovery Act, began to receive public attention. The code involved was the lumber code; and Belcher had been indicted for a violation of it. The lower

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court had held the statute unconstitutional and after the appeal had been filed in the United States Supreme Court, the Department of Justice, for certain legal reasons, decided to dismiss the case. There was reason to suspect that the dismissal of this case might have a tendency toward letting down enforcement of the N.I.R.A. throughout the country. One of the reasons for the foregoing letter was to see to it that every effort was continued to maintain compliance with codes.

As appears also from the second paragraph of the letter, the then existing uncertainty as to whether the National Industrial Recovery Act would be continued beyond its original expiration date of June 16, 1935, was likewise having a very unsettling effect on general compliance throughout the country. I therefore suggested that in view of the circumstances, the appropriate committees of the Senate and the House should accelerate their consideration of the problem of extension of the statute.

36 ¶ A State Department Press Release on the Most-Favored-Nation Principle. April 5, 1935

IT APPEARS that in various quarters certain misconceptions have arisen concerning the policy of this Government as expressed in the press release of April 1st regarding the generalization of the tariff concessions made in the Belgian agreement. It has been inferred by some that the statements contained in that press release indicate a departure from the unconditional most-favored-nation principle. Nothing could be farther removed from fact.

The Trade Agreements Act of June 12, 1934, provides that the duties proclaimed in consequence of the trade agreements entered into with foreign countries shall be extended to all countries but provides that they may be confined to such countries as do not discriminate against American commerce or pursue policies which tend to defeat the purposes of the Act. This provision is wholly in accord with the unconditional most-favored-nation principle, the very essence of which is non-discriminatory treatment in commercial relations.

This country stands ready to extend unconditionally the concessions granted in our trade agreements to all other countries

On the Most-Favored-Nation Principle

which give this country non-discriminatory treatment. Naturally no nation which favors and practices a policy of trade discrimination—a policy diametrically opposed to the most-favored-nation principle—would expect, or be disposed to accept, the benefits of most-favored-nation treatment.

This policy is the opposite of retaliation. It is a policy of respectful and friendly approach to all countries to join us in establishing equality of trade treatment throughout the world. This policy implements the unconditional most-favored-nation principle, which is the most effective means of bringing about more rapidly a general reduction of trade barriers, of giving elasticity to trade arrangements, and of expanding foreign trade.

The reciprocal trade agreements program recently inaugurated by this Government places us in a position where we have something positive to offer other countries in return for most-favored-nation treatment. In point of fact, most of the nations of the world have and do accord us unconditional most-favored-nation treatment on customs duties. Whenever these countries make trade agreements with other countries, we get the benefit of the lower rates. This is the usual rule. If, however, a country, as in some instances is the case, refuses to give us the benefits of the rates which it grants to other countries, such a country cannot expect to enjoy the benefits of the concessions which we make in our trade agreements. The unconditional most-favored-nation principle requires only that we grant the lower rates emerging from our trade agreements to those countries which extend us non-discriminatory treatment.

More recently, however, new forms of trade discrimination have arisen. Reference is made to the various types of quantitative restrictions such as import quotas and the allocation of exchange. While tariff discriminations against American commerce are, in the case of most countries, relatively unimportant, these new forms of discrimination are far more widespread through the world at the present moment. In the case of these newer forms of control, this Government requires only that foreign countries shall accord our nationals fair and equitable treatment; that

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quota allocation shall give us such a fair share of the trade as may be indicated by a representative period prior to the institution of the control; and that the exchange allotted to this country shall similarly represent our fair share of the total provided as nearly as may be judged by a previous representative period.

Some countries with which we now have most-favored-nation agreements do in fact substantially discriminate against American commerce. The discriminatory practices of these countries do not justify us in continuing to extend to them the benefits of unconditional most-favored-nation treatment. Under these circumstances, there is no course open except to terminate these obligations, particularly in view of the fact that in many cases these treaties are old and obsolete and do not provide as explicitly for equality of treatment with respect to the newer forms of trade restriction, as might be desired.

In all cases this Government is ready at all times to enter into unconditional most-favored-nation arrangements with any and all countries, and to grant the benefit of equality of treatment to all countries which in practice accord us non-discriminatory treatment. Far from departing from the unconditional most-favored-nation principle, the steps recently taken strongly implement and reenforce it.

NOTE: The foregoing statement explains briefly the policy of the Administration in following the most-favored-nation principle.

Pursuant to this policy, I addressed instructions to the Secretary of the Treasury at the time of the proclamation of the various reciprocal trade agreements with countries other than Cuba (see Item 33, Vol. III), listing the countries to which the benefits of generalization were to apply.

Conversely, in those cases in which I found as a fact that foreign countries were discriminating

against American commerce, the benefits of the most-favored-nation principle were withdrawn from such countries, pursuant to authority granted by the Trade Agreements Act of 1934. (See Item 33, Vol. III.)

For example, on October 15, 1935, following the termination of the most-favored-nation treaty obligations, the application of trade agreement rates to German goods was suspended in consequence of certain commercial policies followed by Germany which resulted in substantial discrimination against

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American products. On June 26, of certain discriminations against 1936, the same procedure was applied to Australian goods because American commerce adopted by Australia.

37 ¶ White House Statement on Signing Work Relief Bill. April 8, 1935

THE joint resolution making appropriations for relief purposes was finally passed last Friday. On Saturday and Sunday the resolution, including all the amendments finally agreed on, was examined by the departments and agencies concerned and sent to Jacksonville by plane and received by the President at 1 P.M.

While a number of new questions are presented by recent amendments, those who have studied the joint resolution have recommended its approval and the President has affixed his signature to it after further study at 4 P.M.

Immediately thereafter the President signed two allocations from the amount appropriated under the new law. The first allocated \$125,000,000 to the administrator of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, in order that relief may not stop.

It should be noted that the long delay in the Senate has made necessary the transfer of many millions of dollars previously allocated to highly useful permanent projects to immediate emergency relief work. This money came from the Recovery Act appropriation of 1933.

Many of the projects which have been canceled because of this cannot now be continued under the terms of the new law.

The second allocation under the new law, for \$30,000,000, is a continuation of the emergency conservation work; in other words, the maintenance of the Civilian Conservation Corps camps; also \$842,000 for continuation of conservation and other work on tribal or other Indian reservation lands.

Further announcements in regard to additional allocations will be made from time to time.

38 ¶ White House Statement on War Department Appropriations. April 8, 1935

IN APPROVING H.R. 5913, the War Department appropriation bill for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, it is pertinent to call attention to two matters:

1. The bill authorizes the increase of the average enlisted strength of the Army from 118,750 to 165,000 enlisted men. In a very real sense this increase does not represent an extension of the Army involving new units. It is more correct to say that the increase is in effect a restoration to company, troop, battery and other units of privates who in previous sessions of Congress were arbitrarily transferred and the units thus decreased in order to organize various new corps and units such as the Air Corps.

2. There are two strengths of the fundamental units in the Army—peace strength and war strength. War strength, fixed by tactical requirements of combat, averages 250 enlisted men per company troop or battery. Peace strength, fixed by the necessity for efficient training and for reasonable readiness, should average 120 enlisted men. In recent years, however, this peace strength average has been whittled away until it now barely averages 70 enlisted men per company troop or battery. This law restores to these basic units their peace-time strength. In the great majority of Army posts, barracks were originally constructed for peace-time strengths so that quarters are already available.

39 ¶ A Letter on Trade with the Philippine Islands. April 10, 1935

My dear Governor General:

As you know, consideration is being given by this Government to the question of future relations between the United States and the Philippines. These relations have been the subject of conferences which you and I have had during your visit in Washing-

On Trade with the Philippine Islands

ton. As a result of these discussions I contemplate calling the joint trade conference provided for in Section 13 of the Tydings-McDuffie Act at as early a date as practicable after the inauguration of the Commonwealth Government, in order that effective measures for promoting mutual trade advantages between the two countries may be given early consideration.

To facilitate the work of the conference I have asked our Interdepartmental Committee to continue studies already begun so that the necessary basic material will be available when the conference convenes. I trust you will also be able to inaugurate similar studies in the Philippine Islands which will provide pertinent data for consideration by the conference.

Sincerely yours,

Governor General Frank Murphy,
Washington, D. C.

NOTE: Since the foregoing letter much progress has been made toward the ends sought by it. Experts have been sent to the Philippines by the Interdepartmental Committee to complete the studies begun in 1934 on the occasion of the visit to the Philippines of a group of Senators. At the same time similar studies were commenced by two Philippine committees. Both of these committees made reports and a Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs was set up to make recommendations to correct imperfections or inequalities found to exist in the trade relationships between the Philippines and us. The first meeting of the Joint Committee was held April 19, 1937.

On the occasion of President Quezon's recent visit to the United States an understanding was reached be-

tween him and the Interdepartmental Committee that trade preferences for the Philippines will be terminated on July 4, 1946, or as soon thereafter as practicable. It is contemplated that after the complete independence of the Islands trade relations between the two countries will be regulated by a reciprocal trade agreement on a non-preferential basis.

The functions of the Joint Committee are, briefly, to consider proposals for changes in the economic relationship between the United States and the Philippines, to study the problem of adjustments in Philippine economy and to submit recommendations. The work of the Committee is intended to be only preparatory and advisory. It has no power to decide upon courses of action, but it is anticipated that its

Statement on Pan-American Day

findings and conclusions will afford countries or by the Trade and Economic Conference contemplated in by the legislative bodies of both the Independence Act.

40 ¶ Presidential Statement on Pan-American Day. April 15, 1935

It is most appropriate that on this day, designated as Pan-American Day by the Chief Executives of all the Republics of the American Continent, the Governments, members of the Pan-American Union, should sign a treaty which marks a step forward in the preservation of the cultural achievements of the Nations of this Hemisphere. In opening this Pact to the adherence of the Nations of the world, we are endeavoring to make of universal application one of the principles vital to the preservation of modern civilization.

This Treaty possesses a spiritual significance far deeper than the text of the instrument itself. It is but one of the many expressions of that basic doctrine of continental responsibility and continental solidarity which means so much to the present and to the future of the American Republics.

On the occasion of this celebration of Pan-American Day let us again dedicate ourselves to the task of translating into deeds the essential unity of interest of the Nations of this Continent. Let us also bring renewed allegiance to those high principles of international cooperation and helpfulness which, I feel assured, will be a great contribution to civilization by the Americas.

40A ¶ White House Statement on Signing Treaty Prepared by Pan-American Union.

April 15, 1935

In the presence of President Roosevelt, the Treaty on the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments will be signed today at twelve o'clock noon in the Executive Offices. All

Robert Louis Stevenson and "Treasure Island"

twenty-one of the Pan-American Nations will sign the Treaty on Monday. The Honorable Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, will sign for the United States.

This treaty was prepared by the Pan-American Union in pursuance of a Resolution of the Seventh International Conference of American States meeting in Montevideo, Uruguay, adopted on December 16, 1933, recommending the adherence of all States members of the Pan-American Union.

April 15, which is Pan-American Day, was chosen as a fitting date for the signature of the Treaty. After today the Treaty will be open to signature by all Nations of the world including those not members of the Pan-American Union.

The Treaty provides for the protection of historic monuments, museums, scientific, artistic, religious and cultural institutions in time of peace as well as in time of war.

41 ¶ A Letter on Robert Louis Stevenson and "Treasure Island." April 15, 1935

Dear Christopher Morley:

I AM tremendously interested in your suggestion of R.L.S. and Crooked Island. Though I became last year—after many attempts—the proud owner of a first edition of *Treasure Island*, I had never thought of the map similarity.

Actually, if you will reexamine the chart, you will find that we went in a very light draft launch through the narrow inlet between Crooked Island and Fortune Island. From then on, in going northeasterly toward the river, we had great difficulty in getting over two or three miles of shallow water. Finally we reached the river and from there all the way up the lagoon we found an average depth of about twenty feet and an average width of not more than two hundred feet. A little way up the river it was divided in two by the Island, the north end of which is in the lagoon. We took the right-hand or easterly branch and during the last mile, before reaching the lagoon, we passed magnificent steep coral cliffs with caves in them. That is the westerly

A Tribute to General Pulaski

side of what the chart calls Blue Hill. On top of the Hill is an extraordinarily interesting-looking ruin—the foundations and lower part of what must have been quite large, stone buildings. We passed a number of small boats filled with rather poverty-stricken but perfectly happy Negroes, and we tried in vain to find out something of the Island and the ruins.

It is wholly possible that in the old days the outer entrance contained a fairly deep channel because many similar entrances in these Islands have been closed up in the past hundred years by hurricanes. If there ever was a deep-water entrance to the river it would have provided the most ideal spot for a pirate or buccaneer lair that you could possibly imagine. The masts of even a tall ship in the lagoon would be completely invisible from the sea; the hill where the ruins are is a Gibraltar.

Always sincerely,

Christopher Morley, Esq.,
The Saturday Review of Literature,
New York, N. Y.

NOTE: The description in this letter resulted from a visit to Crooked Island on a recent cruise.

42 ¶ A Tribute to General Pulaski. April 15, 1935

To the Senate:

I RETURN herewith Senate Joint Resolution 21, "Authorizing the President to proclaim October 11th of each year General Pulaski's Memorial Day for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brigadier General Casimir Pulaski," without approval.

I take special note that this proclamation would be made an annual event.

Every American should have the deepest appreciation of the brilliant and gallant services of General Pulaski in the Revolutionary War. His devotion to duty ended only when he fell in action in the service of the Republic; he is one of our heroes of that time and of all time.

Cooperation from the Press

General Pulaski was distinguished among the noble company of those who gave their all for that cause; some were Americans; some were from countries across the sea. I do not think that General Pulaski would have wished to be singled out from his fellows and comrades for more honor than we can give to them all. Our tributes to the memory of the officers who served on the staff of General Washington will be the more fitting and appropriate if we do not seek to legislate separate memorial days for each of them, however illustrious they may be.

For our own leader of the American Revolution, the greatest of Americans, and for him alone, have we as a people set apart one day each year.

43 ¶ A Letter Inviting Cooperation and Constructive Criticism from the Press. April 17, 1935

To Editor and Publisher:

WE HAVE passed another milestone in the life of the Fourth Estate. The press associations, publishers, editors and advertisers are preparing to reassemble for their annual business meetings. The Editor and Publisher, as in the past several years, again offers me the opportunity of extending best wishes to those attending these meetings. This I do, gladly and sincerely.

In the past year, the press as a whole has benefited materially, due to improved conditions. Additional benefits within the coming year are confidently expected.

That these benefits may be broadly expanded until they encompass other interests and people at large, I ask the continued cooperation of the press. I welcome constructive criticism of us in Government and urge that we, together, continue the battle against depression until there is a real national recovery on all fronts.

Very sincerely yours,

Editor and Publisher,
New York, N. Y.

44 ¶ The President Hails the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Ordinance of 1787.

April 20, 1935

My dear Sirs:

I MOST heartily endorse the proposal that the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787 and of the settlement of the Northwest be celebrated by the joint observance of the Federal Government and of the various States concerned.

Rich in the possession of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution, those documents which established and gave form to our national Government, we, as a people, have perhaps been less informed with respect to that third great charter—the Northwest Ordinance. I trust that this forthcoming anniversary will be seized as the opportune occasion to instil in American minds and hearts the cherished appreciation of the rank and honor that is the rightful due of the “Great Ordinance.”

The principles therein embodied served as the highway, broad and safe, over which poured the westward march of our civilization. As the Constitution provided the Federal frame, so the “Great Ordinance” provided for the States to be born in your region, not only the basis of civil government, but a perpetual security of elemental rights. On this plan was the United States built; on the plan of this Ordinance we have, State by State, filled in the geographic frame of our domain; and from it we have had no occasion to depart.

I hope to see the most helpful cooperation both on the part of the Federal Government and of your historic States in the commemoration of an event so full of meaning both to our past development and to the principles of freedom and progress for which we must ever stand.

Very sincerely yours,

Hon. George White,
Marietta, Ohio.

45 ¶ Three White House Statements Outlining the Machinery for Handling the Four-Billion-Dollar Works Relief Appropriation.

April 23, 25, 26, 1935

THE President announced today the organization of a new division of the National Emergency Council. This is the first of a series of announcements to be made in relation to provisions for administering the four-billion-dollar Works Relief appropriation.

This new Division of Applications and Information will act as a clearing house with the general objective of providing for the public and for officials of the Federal, State and local governmental agencies, as well as for civic organizations, a central place for their general convenience. Here will be received all suggested plans for the useful expenditure of Works Relief funds, no matter what the source of these suggestions may be.

In this Division these plans will be carefully sorted and checked and where engineering or other study is necessary such study will be obtained from the regular Government departments best qualified for the work. A preliminary comparison of the usefulness of all of these plans will be made by the Division and the plans themselves will then be segregated to conform with the relief areas which, in turn, will be based on the number of unemployed persons within a proper geographical area.

As fast as these plans are cleared through this Division they will be submitted to a Works Allotment Board, the details of which will be announced in a few days. . . .

Mr. Frank Walker of Montana will direct the activities of this new Division. . . .

Mr. Walker will assume his duties on Wednesday and will immediately set up the new Division to handle this section of the organization of the Work Program. . . .

The Four-Billion-Dollar Works Relief Appropriation

ON TUESDAY, the President announced the organization of a Division of Applications and Information to act as a general clearing house for projects under the four-billion-dollar Works Relief bill.

On Wednesday the President announced that by far the greater part of the administration of the actual work to be undertaken would be under the forty or fifty existing Government agencies which now and for many years have been conducting similar work. A careful study of the several hundred different types of work shows that it will be necessary to set up only three new agencies, one in charge of grade crossings, one in charge of rural electrification and one to consolidate various kinds of work relating to rural resettlement.

Today the President announces the organization of a third step—the appointment of a Works Allotment Division. This Division will receive the lists of projects sent to it from the Division of Applications and Information after the various projects have been studied and reported on by the agencies under which they fall. The Works Allotment Division will, therefore, receive projects large and small in final shape.

In other words, the estimates of cost will have been checked; the length of time necessary for completion will have been passed on; the number of persons from the relief rolls who can be employed in each vicinity or, to put it another way, the percentage of direct labor will have been certified; the proportion of self-liquidating projects to the whole number will have been studied; and the economic justification determined. With all this information in its possession the Works Allotment Division will be able to recommend the projects to the President by districts, for his approval.

In order that all points of view in making the allotment recommendation may be obtained, the Works Allotment Division will meet in round-table conference at least once a week for the next few months and will be composed of a large number of persons.

The following, subject to later additions, will constitute its membership:

The Four-Billion-Dollar Works Relief Appropriation

The Secretary of the Interior	The Director of Rural Electrification
The Secretary of Agriculture	The Chief of the Division of Grade Crossing Elimination
The Secretary of Labor	The Director of Relief
The Director of the National Emergency Council	The Chief of the Urban Housing Division
The Director of the Progress Division	A representative of the Business Advisory Council
The Director of Procurement	A representative of organized labor
The Director of the Bureau of the Budget	A representative of farm organizations
The Chief of Engineers, U.S.A.	A representative of the American Bankers Association
The Commissioner of Reclamation	A representative of the Mayors' Conference
The Director of Soil Erosion	The Vice-Chairman of the National Resources Board
The Chief of the Forest Service	
The Director of Emergency Conservation Work	
The Chief of the Bureau of Public Roads	
The Director of Rural Resettlement	

The Secretary of the Interior will act as Chairman of this Works Allotment Division.

Under the law, the actual allocation of amounts to be expended under the Works Relief bill must be made by the President. The President will, therefore, receive the recommendations from the Works Allotment Division before allocations are made by him. After such allocations have been made they will be transmitted to the many Government agencies already referred to, which will be charged with the prosecution of the work.

THE fourth and final announcement by the President regarding the administrative machinery for the handling of the Works Relief program provides for setting up a Works Progress Division.

It is obvious that before allotments are made, accurate information must be available in regard to the actual number of

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employables whose names are on existing relief rolls. As the Works Relief program is intended to take care primarily of these people the projects must be allocated in proportion to the numbers within a given work area. The Progress Division will be in charge of these figures and will keep the other divisions informed at all times.

Next, after allotments have been made, it will be the duty of the Progress Division to see that the actual persons to be employed on the separate projects will come from those whose names are on the relief rolls. . . .

Finally, the Progress Division will be charged with keeping in touch at all times with all projects and reporting on the progress made. The agents of the Division in the field, where there are not sufficient adequate projects in any Works Relief area, will explore possibilities for additional work and make recommendations thereon.

Mr. Harry L. Hopkins will act as Administrator of the Works Progress Division. He, of course, will continue as Administrator of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the work of which will, however, diminish in proportion to the number of persons on the relief rolls given employment under the Works Relief program.

As previously stated, the care of unemployables on relief rolls during the same period will revert to States and municipalities.

If in the process of making and carrying out allotments sufficient employment in a given area is actually not provided, the existing machinery of F.E.R.A. will be continued in order to take up the slack through the creation of local work on very small projects which, because of their size, would not clear through the Works Allotment Board. These projects can be planned and put into operation and completed in a very short space of time. They will be definitely useful.

The general work of the Works Progress Division also will include recommendations designed to keep the actual work of the great majority on projects located as close to the homes of the workers as possible.

46 ¶ A Suggestion for the Use of the Bequest to
the Nation by Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell
Holmes. April 25, 1935

To the Congress:

THE Congress is aware that Mr. Justice Holmes bequeathed his residuary estate to the Government of his country. It is the gift of one who, in war and in peace, devoted his life to its service. Clearly he thereby sought, with a generous emphasis, to mark the full measure of his faith in those principles of freedom and justice which the country was founded to preserve.

I shall, I think, be interpreting aright the feeling of the country and the wishes of the Congress if I suggest that this striking gift be devoted to some purpose worthy of the great man who gave it. Mr. Justice Holmes was fond of saying that we live by symbols. Our fellow citizens of this generation would, I am confident, desire the Congress to translate this gift into a form that may serve as a permanent impulse for the maintenance of the deepest tradition that Mr. Justice Holmes embodied.

That tradition was a faith in the creative possibilities of the law. For him law was an instrument of just relations between man and man. With an insight into its history that no American scholar has surpassed; with a capacity to mold ancient principles to present needs, unique in range and remarkable in prophetic power; with a grasp of its significance as the basis upon which the purposes of men are shaped, Mr. Justice Holmes sought to make the jurisprudence of the United States fulfill the great ends our Nation was established to accomplish. Our generation will not soon forget, as the learned the world over will long remember, his extraordinary achievements as judge, as historian, and as philosopher of the law.

The Congress will, I am sure, agree that it is fitting to utilize this opportunity to remind those who will come after us of our

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sense of the eminence of Mr. Justice Holmes. In so doing we do not merely commemorate the distinction of an American to whom the whole world has paid tribute. We also mark for posterity our pride in his faith in American democracy, his confidence in the power of our legal institutions to realize, when rightly used, the highest American ideals. Posterity which learns the significance of a life such as that of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., draws inspiration from its understanding.

I therefore commend to the Congress that the bequest of Mr. Justice Holmes be not covered into the general fund of the Treasury, but that it be set aside in a special fund at this time, and at a later date be devoted to purposes which will effectively promote the contributions which law can make to the national welfare. Once it is decided that the Holmes bequest be set apart for special use the precise object may await ample deliberation. A select committee of the Congress, acting in collaboration with a committee of the Supreme Court of the United States, will doubtless evolve the wisest uses to which this noble bequest should be put.

47 ¶ A Greeting to the National Congress of
Parents and Teachers. April 26, 1935

My dear Mrs. Langworthy:

IT GIVES me much pleasure to send a message to the delegates of the Thirty-ninth Convention of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers.

At this time when the homes of America are greatly in need of stabilizing influences, the theme you have chosen, "The Home — The Index to National Life," is particularly appropriate. I hope that your deliberations will result in stimulating the members of your organization to successful efforts in securing for all children in America the rights and privileges to which they are entitled.

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I congratulate you for your past achievements and wish for you a full measure of success in the future.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. B. F. Langworthy,
President, National Congress of Parents and Teachers,
Chicago, Illinois

48 ¶ The First “Fireside Chat” of 1935—“Fear Is Vanishing, Confidence Is Growing . . . Faith Is Being Renewed in the Democratic Form of Government.” April 28, 1935

SINCE my Annual Message to the Congress on January 4th, last, I have not addressed the general public over the air. In the many weeks since that time the Congress has devoted itself to the arduous task of formulating legislation necessary to the country's welfare. It has made and is making distinct progress.

Before I come to any of the specific measures, however, I want to leave in your minds one clear fact. The Administration and the Congress are not proceeding in any haphazard fashion in this task of government. Each of our steps has a definite relationship to every other step. The job of creating a program for the Nation's welfare is, in some respects, like the building of a ship. At different points on the coast where I often visit they build great seagoing ships. When one of these ships is under construction and the steel frames have been set in the keel, it is difficult for a person who does not know ships to tell how it will finally look when it is sailing the high seas.

It may seem confused to some, but out of the multitude of detailed parts that go into the making of the structure, the creation of a useful instrument for man ultimately comes. It is that way with the making of a national policy. The objective of the Nation

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has greatly changed in three years. Before that time individual self-interest and group selfishness were paramount in public thinking. The general good was at a discount.

Three years of hard thinking have changed the picture. More and more people, because of clearer thinking and a better understanding, are considering the whole rather than a mere part relating to one section, or to one crop, or to one industry, or to an individual private occupation. That is a tremendous gain for the principles of democracy. The overwhelming majority of people in this country know how to sift the wheat from the chaff in what they hear and what they read. They know that the process of the constructive rebuilding of America cannot be done in a day or a year, but that it is being done in spite of the few who seek to confuse them and to profit by their confusion. Americans as a whole are feeling a lot better — a lot more cheerful than for many, many years.

The most difficult place in the world to get a clear and open perspective of the country as a whole is Washington. I am reminded sometimes of what President Wilson once said: "So many people come to Washington who know things that are not so, and so few people who know what the people of the United States are thinking about." That is why I occasionally leave this scene of action for a few days to go fishing or back home to Hyde Park so that I can have a chance to think quietly about the country as a whole. "To get away from the trees," as they say, "and to look at the whole forest." This duty of seeing the country in a long-range perspective is one which, in a very special manner, attaches to this office to which you have chosen me. Did you ever stop to think that there are, after all, only two positions in the Nation that are filled by the vote of all of the voters — the President and the Vice-President? That makes it particularly necessary for the Vice-President and for me to conceive of our duty toward the entire country. Tonight, therefore, I speak to and of the American people as a whole.

My most immediate concern is in carrying out the purposes of the great work program just enacted by the Congress. Its first ob-

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jective is to put men and women now on the relief rolls to work and, incidentally, to assist materially in our already unmistakable march toward recovery. I shall not confuse my discussion by a multitude of figures. So many figures are quoted to prove so many things. Sometimes it depends upon what paper you read and what broadcast you hear. Therefore, let us keep our minds on two or three simple essential facts in connection with this problem of unemployment. It is true that while business and industry are definitely better our relief rolls are still too large. However, for the first time in five years the relief rolls have declined instead of increased during the winter months. They are still declining. The simple fact is that many millions more people have private work today than two years ago today or one year ago today and every day that passes offers more chances to work for those who want to work. In spite of the fact that unemployment remains a serious problem here as in every other Nation, we have come to recognize the possibility and the necessity of certain helpful remedial measures. These measures are of two kinds. The first is to make provisions intended to relieve, to minimize, and to prevent future unemployment; the second is to establish the practical means to help those who are unemployed in this present emergency. Our social security legislation is an attempt to answer the first of these questions; our Works Relief program, the second.

The program for social security now pending before the Congress is a necessary part of the future unemployment policy of the Government. While our present and projected expenditures for work relief are wholly within the reasonable limits of our national credit resources, it is obvious that we cannot continue to create governmental deficits for that purpose year after year. We must begin now to make provision for the future. That is why our social security program is an important part of the complete picture. It proposes, by means of old-age pensions, to help those who have reached the age of retirement to give up their jobs and thus give to the younger generation greater opportunities for work and to give to all a feeling of security as they look toward old age.

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The unemployment insurance part of the legislation will not only help to guard the individual in future periods of lay-off against dependence upon relief, but it will, by sustaining purchasing power, cushion the shock of economic distress. Another helpful feature of unemployment insurance is the incentive it will give to employers to plan more carefully in order that unemployment may be prevented by the stabilizing of employment itself.

Provisions for social security, however, are protections for the future. Our responsibility for the immediate necessities of the unemployed has been met by the Congress through the most comprehensive work plan in the history of the Nation. Our problem is to put to work three and one-half million employable persons now on the relief rolls. It is a problem quite as much for private industry as for the Government.

We are losing no time getting the Government's vast work relief program under way and we have every reason to believe that it should be in full swing by autumn. In directing it, I shall recognize six fundamental principles:

- (1) The projects should be useful.
- (2) Projects shall be of a nature that a considerable proportion of the money spent will go into wages for labor.
- (3) Projects will be sought which promise ultimate return to the Federal Treasury of a considerable proportion of the costs.
- (4) Funds allotted for each project should be actually and promptly spent and not held over until later years.
- (5) In all cases projects must be of a character to give employment to those on the relief rolls.
- (6) Projects will be allocated to localities or relief areas in relation to the number of workers on relief rolls in those areas.

I next want to make it clear exactly how we shall direct the work.

(1) I have set up a Division of Applications and Information to which all proposals for the expenditure of money must go for preliminary study and consideration.

(2) After the Division of Applications and Information has

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sifted these projects, they will be sent to an Allotment Division composed of representatives of the more important governmental agencies charged with carrying on work relief projects. The group will also include representatives of cities, and of labor, farming, banking and industry. This Allotment Division will consider all of the recommendations submitted to it and such projects as they approve will be next submitted to the President who under the Act is required to make final allocations.

(3) The next step will be to notify the proper Government agency in whose field the project falls, and also to notify another agency which I am creating—a Progress Division. This Division will have the duty of coordinating the purchase of materials and supplies and of making certain that people who are employed will be taken from the relief rolls. It will also have the responsibility of determining work payments in various localities, of making full use of existing employment services and of assisting people engaged in relief work to move as rapidly as possible back into private employment when such employment is available. Moreover, this Division will be charged with keeping projects moving on schedule.

(4) I have felt it to be essentially wise and prudent to avoid, so far as possible, the creation of new governmental machinery for supervising this work. The national Government now has at least sixty different agencies with the staff and the experience and the competence necessary to carry on the two hundred and fifty or three hundred kinds of work that will be undertaken. These agencies, therefore, will simply be doing on a somewhat enlarged scale, the same sort of things that they have been doing. This will make certain that the largest possible portion of the funds allotted will be spent for actually creating new work and not for building up expensive overhead organizations here in Washington.

For many months preparations have been under way. The allotment of funds for desirable projects has already begun. The key men for the major responsibilities of this great task already

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have been selected. I well realize that the country is expecting before this year is out to see the "dirt fly," as they say, in carrying on the work, and I assure my fellow citizens that no energy will be spared in using these funds effectively to make a major attack upon the problem of unemployment.

Our responsibility is to all of the people in this country. This is a great national crusade to destroy enforced idleness which is an enemy of the human spirit generated by this depression. Our attack upon these enemies must be without stint and without discrimination. No sectional, no political distinctions can be permitted.

It must, however, be recognized that when an enterprise of this character is extended over more than three thousand counties throughout the Nation, there may be occasional instances of inefficiency, bad management, or misuse of funds. When cases of this kind occur, there will be those, of course, who will try to tell you that the exceptional failure is characteristic of the entire endeavor. It should be remembered that in every big job there are some imperfections. There are chiselers in every walk of life, there are those in every industry who are guilty of unfair practices; every profession has its black sheep, but long experience in Government has taught me that the exceptional instances of wrong-doing in Government are probably less numerous than in almost every other line of endeavor. The most effective means of preventing such evils in this Works Relief program will be the eternal vigilance of the American people themselves. I call upon my fellow citizens everywhere to cooperate with me in making this the most efficient and the cleanest example of public enterprise the world has ever seen.

It is time to provide a smashing answer for those cynical men who say that a Democracy cannot be honest and efficient. If you will help, this can be done. I, therefore, hope you will watch the work in every corner of this Nation. Feel free to criticize. Tell me of instances where work can be done better, or where improper practices prevail. Neither you nor I want criticism con-

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ceived in a purely fault-finding or partisan spirit, but I am jealous of the right of every citizen to call to the attention of his or her Government examples of how the public money can be more effectively spent for the benefit of the American people.

I now come, my friends, to a part of the remaining business before the Congress. It has under consideration many measures which provide for the rounding out of the program of economic and social reconstruction with which we have been concerned for two years. I can mention only a few of them tonight, but I do not want my mention of specific measures to be interpreted as lack of interest in or disapproval of many other important proposals that are pending.

The National Industrial Recovery Act expires on the sixteenth of June. After careful consideration, I have asked the Congress to extend the life of this useful agency of Government. As we have proceeded with the administration of this Act, we have found from time to time more and more useful ways of promoting its purposes. No reasonable person wants to abandon our present gains—we must continue to protect children, to enforce minimum wages, to prevent excessive hours, to safeguard, define and enforce collective bargaining, and, while retaining fair competition, to eliminate, so far as humanly possible, the kinds of unfair practices by selfish minorities which unfortunately did more than anything else to bring about the recent collapse of industries.

There is likewise pending before the Congress legislation to provide for the elimination of unnecessary holding companies in the public utility field.

I consider this legislation a positive recovery measure. Power production in this country is virtually back to the 1929 peak. The operating companies in the gas and electric utility field are by and large in good condition. But under holding company domination the utility industry has long been hopelessly at war within itself and with public sentiment. By far the greater part of the general decline in utility securities had occurred before I

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was inaugurated. The absentee management of unnecessary holding company control has lost touch with, and has lost the sympathy of, the communities it pretends to serve. Even more significantly it has given the country as a whole an uneasy apprehension of overconcentrated economic power.

A business that loses the confidence of its customers and the good-will of the public cannot long continue to be a good risk for the investor. This legislation will serve the investor by ending the conditions which have caused that lack of confidence and good-will. It will put the public utility operating industry on a sound basis for the future, both in its public relations and in its internal relations.

This legislation will not only in the long run result in providing lower electric and gas rates to the consumer but it will protect the actual value and earning power of properties now owned by thousands of investors who have little protection under the old laws against what used to be called frenzied finance. It will not destroy values.

Not only business recovery, but the general economic recovery of the Nation will be greatly stimulated by the enactment of legislation designed to improve the status of our transportation agencies. There is need for legislation for the regulation of interstate transportation by buses and trucks, for the regulation of transportation by water, for the strengthening of our Merchant Marine and Air Transport, for the strengthening of the Interstate Commerce Commission to enable it to carry out a rounded conception of the national transportation system in which the benefits of private ownership are retained while the public stake in these important services is protected by the public's Government.

Finally, the reestablishment of public confidence in the banks of the Nation is one of the most hopeful results of our efforts as a Nation to reestablish public confidence in private banking. We all know that private banking actually exists by virtue of the permission of and regulation by the people as a whole, speaking

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through their Government. Wise public policy, however, requires not only that banking be safe but that its resources be most fully utilized in the economic life of the country. To this end it was decided more than twenty years ago that the Government should assume the responsibility of providing a means by which the credit of the Nation might be controlled, not by a few private banking institutions, but by a body with public prestige and authority. The answer to this demand was the Federal Reserve System. Twenty years of experience with this system have justified the efforts made to create it, but these twenty years have shown by experience definite possibilities for improvement. Certain proposals made to amend the Federal Reserve Act deserve prompt and favorable action by the Congress. They are a minimum of wise readjustments of our Federal Reserve System in the light of past experience and present needs.

These measures I have mentioned are, in large part, the program which under my constitutional duty I have recommended to the Congress. They are essential factors in a rounded program for national recovery. They contemplate the enrichment of our national life by a sound and rational ordering of its various elements and wise provisions for the protection of the weak against the strong.

Never since my Inauguration in March, 1933, have I felt so unmistakably the atmosphere of recovery. But it is more than the recovery of the material basis of our individual lives. It is the recovery of confidence in our democratic processes and institutions. We have survived all of the arduous burdens and the threatening dangers of a great economic calamity. We have in the darkest moments of our national trials retained our faith in our own ability to master our destiny. Fear is vanishing and confidence is growing on every side, faith is being renewed in the vast possibilities of human beings to improve their material and spiritual status through the instrumentality of the democratic form of government. That faith is receiving its just reward. For that we can be thankful to the God who watches over America.

To Perpetuate Peace and Friendship with Canada

49 ¶ Letters Relative to the Policy of the Administration to Perpetuate Peace and Friendship with Canada. April 29, 1935

My dear Mr. Secretary:

MY ATTENTION has been called to "Hearings before Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives, on H.R. 6621 and H.R. 4130." It is a matter of regret to me that I have been compelled to send a letter to Chairman McSwain of the Military Affairs Committee, copy of which I enclose.

Very sincerely,

Hon. George H. Dern,
Secretary of War,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Chairman:

MY ATTENTION has been called to "Hearings before Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives, on H.R. 6621 and H.R. 4130." This public document includes apparently a full report of an executive session of the Committee of which you are Chairman.

It is necessary for me most respectfully to call to your attention and that of your Committee the fact that if the testimony in executive session is printed in public documents in the same way as testimony in open session, I shall find it necessary as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy to require that in the future such testimony be given only after approval by me.

Referring to page 16 of this printed document, I desire to inform your Committee that certain portions of the testimony of General Kilbourne, especially those relating to the Canadian border, do not represent either the policy of this Administration or that of the Commander-in-Chief.

To Perpetuate Peace and Friendship with Canada

In the statement of General F. M. Andrews, many portions of said statement, especially those relating to the territory of friendly Nations, in Canada, in the Atlantic and in the West Indies, do not represent the policy of the Administration or of the Commander-in-Chief.

I can go further and state that they do not reflect the views, purposes or motives of the United States Government. This Government does not in any of its plans or policies envisage the possibility of a change in the friendly relationship between the United States and any foreign country.

I call your especial attention to the fact that this Government not only accepts as an accomplished fact the permanent peace conditions cemented by many generations of friendship between the Canadian and American people, but expects to live up to not only the letter, but also the spirit of our treaties relating to the permanent disarmament of our three thousand miles of common boundary.

Very sincerely,

Hon. John J. McSwain,
Chairman, Military Affairs Committee,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am in entire accord with the letter dispatched by you on April 29th to the Chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee. In all fairness to the officers concerned, it was their understanding that the testimony was entirely secret and was not to be made public under any circumstances. I am sure they would not have expressed themselves so freely had they not had such an assurance of the situation. It is needless to say that their views on the points you mention were individual and had not been submitted to either the Chief of Staff or the Secretary of War. Their opinions thereon can be regarded only as personal ones. I was myself considering taking similar action to the one so ably presented in your letter to the Chairman of the

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Military Affairs Committee, and I, therefore, cannot tell you how grateful I am that you anticipated me in this respect.

Very respectfully,

Geo. H. Dern, *Secretary of War*.

The President,
The White House

50 ¶ The Resettlement Administration Is Established. Executive Order No. 7027. May 1, 1935

BY VIRTUE of and pursuant to the authority vested in me under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, approved April 8, 1935 (Public Resolution No. 11, 74th Congress), I hereby establish an agency within the Government to be known as the "Resettlement Administration," and appoint Rexford G. Tugwell, Undersecretary of Agriculture, as Administrator thereof, to serve without additional compensation.

I hereby prescribe the following functions and duties of the said Resettlement Administration to be exercised and performed by the Administrator thereof:

(a) To administer approved projects involving resettlement of destitute or low-income families from rural and urban areas, including the establishment, maintenance, and operation, in such connection, of communities in rural and suburban areas.

(b) To initiate and administer a program of approved projects with respect to soil erosion, stream pollution, seacoast erosion, reforestation, forestation, and flood control.

(c) To make loans as authorized under the said Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, to finance, in whole or in part, the purchase of farm lands and necessary equipment by farmers, farm tenants, croppers or farm laborers.

In the performance of such duties and functions the Administrator is hereby authorized to employ the services and means mentioned in subdivision (a) of Section 3 of the said Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, to the extent therein provided, and, within the limitations prescribed by said Section, to exercise

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the authority with respect to personnel conferred by subdivision (b) thereof.

To the extent necessary to carry out the provisions of this Executive Order the Administrator is authorized to acquire, by purchase or by the power of eminent domain, any real property or any interest therein and improve, develop, grant, sell, lease (with or without the privilege of purchasing), or otherwise dispose of any such property or interest therein.

The acquisition of articles, materials, and supplies for use in carrying out any project authorized by this Executive Order shall be subject to the provisions of Title III of the Treasury and Post Office Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1934 (47 Stat. 1489, 1520).

For the administrative expenses of the Resettlement Administration there is hereby allocated to the Administration from the appropriation made by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, the sum of \$250,000. Separate allocations will be made hereafter for each of the authorized activities as may be needed.

NOTE: The program of the Resettlement Administration established by the foregoing Executive Order pursuant to the authority vested in me by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, was founded on a realization that the lowest-income third of our farm population were themselves growing steadily poorer and were causing a great waste of the Nation's land and economic resources by their unprofitable farming operations.

This startling situation was made most clear by the presence of more than one million farm families on relief rolls during the depression—families who lived on the land and yet could make so little from the land that they had to be supported by outside sources.

Investigation of the problems indicated:

1. Poverty on the farm was widespread, as shown by the fact that approximately 900,000 farm families were making an annual income of less than \$400 per year, including the value of the crops produced and also the value of the crops consumed at home.
2. Sub-marginal farms—that is, farms which were unsuited to crop production and which could not under existing conditions of use provide families with a satisfactory livelihood—were occupied by about 500,000 of these farm families, to the extent of 100,000,000 acres.
3. More than 42 percent of Ameri-

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can farmers were tenants and share croppers rather than owners of farms.

4. Overburdening debt was keeping many farmers in poverty, and preventing them from making a really fresh start in farming.
5. Widespread soil destruction by wind and water erosion, and by floods aggravated by improper land use, was resulting from the poor economic condition of these farmers. Debts, poor land, tenancy, poverty — all of these factors made it necessary for these farmers to neglect proper conservation methods to save the soil and encouraged them to work the land for all they could immediately get out of it.
6. Land conditions required a further intensive study of available land resources and needs, as begun under the National Resources Board in 1934.
7. Suburban land use presented problems very similar to those of purely rural areas, requiring the development of better methods of land use in areas where town and country joined.

With these facts in mind and to meet the various problems presented, the Resettlement Administration drafted a general program along the lines of: (1) proper land utilization, including the shifting of poor farm land to uses for which it is better

suited; (2) rural rehabilitation of needy farmers; (3) resettlement of impoverished farm families on better land; (4) suburban resettlement of industrial city workers.

Proper Land Utilization. There had been prior efforts made by my Administration for the development of a proper use of sub-marginal land. The instrumentalities which had been engaged in these activities were the Land Policy Section of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in connection with its land program.

The program of purchasing unsuitable farm land from farmers in sub-marginal areas was first considered and begun by the Surplus Relief Corporation (see Vol. II, Items 125 and 130), in connection with the Administration's program of crop reduction. General public opinion had first really become conscious of the problem of the use of sub-marginal land when American agriculture fell into acute depression. At that time people as a whole began to realize the futility of farmers' attempts to make a living by growing crops on land which was too poor in quality to raise sufficient crops cheaply enough to make a decent living.

One of the first steps of this Administration was to attack the problem of crop surpluses as the chief cause of agricultural depression. Along with the idea of adjusting the size of crops through A.A.A. (see Vol. II, Items 20 and 54), there

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soon came the idea of making further adjustment of crop supply to crop demand by removing sub-marginal farm lands from cultivation and devoting them to other uses. The idea uppermost in the public mind at that time, and in our minds, was not so much to eliminate distressed living conditions in such areas, but rather to remove agricultural surpluses. Early in 1934 the growing idea of removing these sub-marginal lands from crop cultivation was put into action by an allotment of \$25,000,000 to the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation.

It was soon recognized, however, that the more important objective of this program of removing inferior land from continued farming was not the curtailment of production. For one reason, crop production on these inferior lands was necessarily small. For another reason, the cost of production per unit on this inferior land was so high that it would be wise national foresight to concentrate production on the better land, so that the farmers could make an adequate living and so that necessary profitable crops could be raised with less effort and cost to meet whatever demand arose.

The emphasis of the land-use adjustment program, therefore, shifted from the control of crop surpluses to the correction of the sub-marginal living conditions in these areas; and the funds and authority for the program were soon shifted from the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation to the Federal Emer-

gency Relief Administration, as the more appropriate agency for this new emphasis.

These funds financed the land purchase program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration carried out in cooperation with the Land Policy Section of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Bureau of Biological Survey of the United States Department of Agriculture, the Office of Indian Affairs, and the National Park Service.

Projects under this program were to be of the following major types, all designed to be demonstrations of proper utilization of land by buying inferior and unprofitable farm land and turning them over for purposes different from those then being followed:

- a. *Demonstration agricultural projects:* These to include projects in which the major use (or combination of uses) of land to be purchased included farming, forestry or other uses falling within the administrative jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture.
- b. *Demonstration recreational projects:* These to include projects in which the land to be purchased was to be used primarily for recreational purposes, as recommended by the National Park Service, Department of Interior.
- c. *Demonstration Indian lands projects:* These to include projects in which the land to be

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purchased was to be used primarily for the benefit of the Indians under the jurisdiction of the Office of Indian Affairs of the Department of Interior.

- d. *Demonstration wild-life projects:* These to include projects in which land to be purchased was to be used primarily to carry out the wild-life program of the Biological Survey of the Department of Agriculture.
- e. *Other demonstration projects:* These to include projects which might be suggested by authorized Federal or State agencies not above named.

This land program had three major phases: first, to purchase and remove from crop production land which was unsuited to profitable farming; second, converting that land so purchased to a use which could be made beneficial to the average men and women of the United States; third, the permanent rehabilitation of the people living on the land so purchased.

The objectives of this land program were: first, providing proper use for poor land which was being put to an improper use; second, prevention of the continued depletion of land resources by erosion or other means, and a restoration of some degree of land productivity; third, improving the economic and social condition of families occupying farms which were unsuited to farming and unable to provide a decent living; fourth, encourage-

ment of land-use planning by setting up experimental projects to serve as examples of adjustments possible in various regions in the United States; fifth, improving the economic and social condition of "industrially stranded population groups" living in rural areas where the major supporting industries had moved away or had fallen into decay; sixth, rehabilitating parts of the Indian population of the United States by the purchase of land and helping them to make a better use of land areas in units more suited to their peculiar needs; seventh, reducing the cost of local government and of local public institutions and services, which are always highest in areas where families are widely scattered.

The activities included in the land program of the F.E.R.A. were transferred by Executive Order No. 7028, dated April 30, 1935 (see the following Item), to the Resettlement Administration set up by the foregoing Executive Order No. 7027. The Resettlement Administration proceeded to carry out the task of acquiring the land and setting up the various projects originally planned in the land program of F.E.R.A. There have been finally established as demonstrations of land utilization 206 projects, as follows:

1. Forty-six recreational land-use projects scattered through twenty-five States and involving the proposed purchase of

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more than 400,000 acres of land. These were worked out by the National Park Service in cooperation with various State conservation and recreational agencies.

2. Thirty-two migratory waterfowl land-use projects, involving the purchase of more than 720,000 acres of land, of a swampy character or of a type which can easily be inundated.
3. Thirty Indian land-use projects, calling for the acquisition of approximately 1,220,000 acres within or adjacent to existing Indian reservations.
4. Ninety-eight agricultural adjustment land-use projects. The types of adjustment proposed for these projects fall into four general classes, each associated with the major land-use problems of the localities wherein they are established. All four of these classes involve families unable to maintain decent standards of living on their present farms.

a. The first class comprises fourteen projects in the northeastern part of the United States, including New York and Pennsylvania, in which about 200,000 acres are being acquired. In these areas, farm lands have gradually been abandoned over the last several decades, due to serious erosion, rough topography, stony fields and poor soils. Comparatively few families are now left in

these areas, although during the depression some of these abandoned farms were temporarily reoccupied by city families to help them eke out a bare living. These lands are proposed to be developed for forestry, recreation and game as major uses.

b. The second class includes fifteen projects, involving the proposed purchase of about 1,250,000 acres of forest land which had been cut over in the regions of the Great Lakes States, in Florida, Washington and Oregon. The areas involved in these projects have been largely forested, and the soils are poor and unadapted to agriculture. The families are necessarily widely scattered, so that social facilities are absent and the costs of local government are extremely high. The adjustment for this class of land will involve forestry and wildlife refuges.

c. The third class is located principally in the Mississippi-Ohio Valley and in the South Atlantic States, an area stretching from Florida to Oklahoma and northward to Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. These proposed projects are approximately forty-five in number, involving the purchase of approximately 1,250,000 acres of land. The farm lands in the proposed projects in these areas

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are of a type which is being rapidly depleted by gully and sheet erosion. In these areas the population is much denser; and the families involved have the poorest of living conditions. Housing is of the lowest; sanitary facilities are often entirely lacking; inadequate diet has resulted in dietary diseases; social institutions are either lacking or grossly inadequate; and incomes generally are extremely low. Projects in this class will be devoted to forestry and to some recreation and game development. In a few instances part of the land will be used for grazing purposes.

d. The fourth class, involving twenty-four projects, calls for the purchase of approximately 4,100,000 acres of land located in the Great Plains and Inter-mountain areas. In these areas rainfall is inadequate. It is necessary to buy up the holdings of some of the land owners and use them in conjunction with the holdings of those families who intend to remain in the area, in order to establish farms with acreages sufficiently large to return a respectable income. As a general proposition the lands acquired will be taken out of crop use and returned to grazing use, for which they are naturally more adapted.

The total of the acres contemplated for purchase for all of the types of the 206 projects is 9,148,000, at an estimated cost of \$40,924,000, or an average of about \$4.47 per acre. By June 30, 1937, the entire acreage proposed to be purchased was covered by accepted offers to sell, and final title to approximately 5,000,000 acres was vested in the United States.

On 94 of the 98 agricultural adjustment land-use projects the Resettlement Administration has carried out an extensive development program in cooperation with the Works Progress Administration. On the other types of projects development work has been carried out by the respective technical agency — the National Park Service, or the Bureau of Biological Survey, or the Office of Indian Affairs. On the agricultural projects the jobs to be done include land clearing; fence and structure removal; rodent control; reforestation and forest stand improvement; seeding; soil preparation; construction of bridges, buildings, cabins, dwellings, look-out towers and shelters; construction of diversion and impounding dams, cattle guards, corrals, dipping vats, telephone lines, park roads and trails, check dams, diversion ditches, terracing, culverts, firebreaks; the establishment of fish rearing ponds and hatcheries; lake and pond development. These are representative types of the work now being carried out on these 94 projects of the

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Land Utilization Division of the Resettlement Administration.

The total number of man-weeks of labor employed on these projects from November, 1935, to June 1, 1937, was 2,743,230, of which approximately 2,330,000 man-weeks represent relief labor. The total expenditure on these 94 projects for all jobs plus equipment was \$35,276,120, or approximately \$56 per month per man.

In general it can be said that through this demonstration of land utilization, adjustments in the agricultural use of approximately 9,000,000 acres of land have actually taken place and that a demonstrational basis for this type of activity has been definitely established.

Rural Resettlement. Rural resettlement activity is a necessary complement to the land utilization program discussed above. Where lands are purchased by the Government agencies and removed from cultivation, the families occupying these lands must resettle in other areas. In many cases the amount secured from the sale to the Government of sub-marginal land is not enough to enable the families to become reestablished on other farms unless they secure help from the Resettlement Administration. Without this help they would inevitably tend to drift back to other sub-marginal areas, because only in such areas could they find some place to exist without capital.

These families and many others now living on land which cannot

provide a decent standard of living are being helped by the Resettlement Administration to establish new homes on resettlement projects. When completed, such projects will provide homes and means of livelihood for more than 10,000 families or approximately 40,000 persons. The land for these projects is being acquired partly from individual land owners and partly from banks and insurance companies. In most cases the farms are leased, and after a trial period sold, to the new settlers. Payments extend over a long period of time. Expert agricultural advice is available. Every chance is given for these resettled farmers to make good through their own will and effort.

The primary object of resettlement activity is to give people an opportunity to move from poor land to good land and to establish themselves on farms where soil conditions are suitable and where sufficient acreage exists to yield a satisfactory income.

By Executive Order No. 7041, May 15, 1935, the functions and funds of the Subsistence Homesteads Division of the Department of the Interior were transferred to the Resettlement Administration (see Item 100 of Vol. II for a discussion of subsistence homesteads). Certain changes in policy and planning in subsistence homesteads were evolved as the Resettlement Administration took them over and developed a further program. The individual acreage was enlarged, the

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amortization period was increased from thirty to forty years, and changes in tenure agreements were made encouraging rentals rather than purchase agreements.

In August, 1937, there were 31 subsistence homestead projects being continued as such under the Resettlement Administration (Farm Security Administration); 21 projects have been completed; and they now house a population of 2,212 families, or 10,044 people.

Twelve projects have been conveyed by the Resettlement Administration to local non-profit community associations, which hold title to the properties, collect rents, pay taxes, provide for upkeep and make periodic payments to the Government on its investment. Families are paying from \$15.60 to \$22.00 per month for their completed homes, to cover all these payments.

General experience with subsistence homesteads has demonstrated that they fill a real demand among a large number of American working families. The most successful projects are those located near those cities where diversified industries provide a more varied type of employment and where there are adequate transportation facilities to carry the homesteaders to their places of employment.

Including the projects turned over to the Resettlement Administration from the other agencies and including the ones developed by itself, the entire rural resettlement

program included 119 active projects on June 30, 1937. Of these, 38 projects providing homes for 1,957 families were totally completed and 84 were under way, providing an aggregate of 4,441 families with homes on these projects. Lands being purchased for these projects total more than 550,700 acres at a total cost of \$19,368,000.

These rural resettlement projects are, broadly speaking, of two types. The first is called the infiltration type. Projects in this category involve the purchase in existing farm communities of individual farms of good quality which can be improved and made available to farmers coming from poor land. The resettlement farms in these projects require little if anything new in the way of community facilities such as schools, roads or utilities. Most of the projects planned by the Resettlement Administration from the start have been of this type.

The second type of projects, which include a great many of those taken over from other agencies, is known as the community type. In projects of this sort relatively large acreages of land were acquired and subdivided into individual farms. Because of the distance of these tracts of land from established communities it was usually necessary to develop not only farm houses and buildings, but also numerous community facilities such as new roads, schools, water supply, community buildings, etc. At the

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same time, however, economies were achieved by virtue of the lower price at which land could frequently be purchased when acquired in a large lot and in remote areas.

There is no inconsistency between the program of reducing crop surpluses and the program of resettling farm families on land better suited for crop production. Some people, who are opposed to both of these efforts to help the farmers of the Nation, have attempted to point out that one counteracts the other. That is not so.

The program of reducing crop surpluses is directed toward certain particular farm products raised on all land, good or bad. It seeks to adjust the amount of the crops raised to the amount which can be sold in foreign and domestic markets, so as to avoid piling up surpluses which reduce the price which the farmer can obtain for his work and for his investment. That program is applicable to the total amount of particular farm products raised in the entire country.

The question of the quality of the soil on which such crops are to be raised is quite another matter. Crops can be raised at a certain cost and with a certain amount of physical effort on good land. On bad land—what we call sub-marginal land—they can be raised only with much greater effort and at much greater cost. In fact, they can be raised only at a cost so high, that a net loss results to the farmer

no matter how much he raises. The task of resettling is to take farm families off this type of inferior land and move them to land where they can raise a fair proportion of the total national crop of any particular product. That total national crop, in turn, is so controlled by a crop-reduction program that a decent price may be obtained for all the farmers who have together produced that total. It is not that each resettled farmer is necessarily going to raise more crops on his new land than he did on his old. The important point is that when he does raise his share of the total crop, he is not compelled to lose money because of the difficulty and expense of making his bad land produce his farm products.

Another major social problem of modern agriculture is the great increase in the number of farm tenants in the United States. In the last fifty years the percentage of farm tenants to farm owners has increased from 25 to 42 percent. To help worthy tenant farmers become independent owners, the Rural Resettlement Division has undertaken ten tenant-purchase projects. These projects do not involve a movement of families from one location to another. They consist of farms which the Resettlement Administration is helping their present tenant operators to acquire for themselves as owners. The Resettlement Administration buys these farms from their owners and sells them on easy terms to the tenant farmers

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now working them, selected for their character and ability.

These two great groups of handicapped people in our rural districts—sub-marginal farmers and farm tenants—do not owe their condition to some sudden and passing calamity. The causes for their difficulties have their roots in the economic and social past of our country. It will require many years of patient and continued cooperative effort on the part of the local, State and Federal Governments to give these people the adequate opportunity to which they are entitled. These projects of the Resettlement Administration demonstrate some of the ways in which these problems may be solved.

Rural Rehabilitation. The rural rehabilitation phase of the program of the Resettlement Administration represents the immediate or emergency aspect of its work. It is designed to reestablish quickly the credit of destitute farmers. It comprises the making of small loans, the granting of funds in emergencies for subsistence needs, and the furnishing of technical agricultural guidance.

These loans usually have ranged from \$50 to \$600, carry interest at 5 percent, and are secured by crop liens and mortgages on livestock. Loans are also made to groups of farmers who wish to cooperate in buying heavy farm equipment which one farmer alone could not afford to buy. In this type of rehabilitation, the money is used for

loans instead of for relief; and, although not all the loans will be paid back, it is estimated that 75 percent of the money loaned will be repaid. This is a kind of investment business which no bank or private credit agency would be willing or able to engage in. It helps farmers who are capable and willing to work their farms, but who, for lack of a "grubstake" would otherwise be obliged to go on relief.

Technical instruction by experts is given not only in actual farm operation, but also in home management and individual budgeting. Another form of assistance which the Resettlement Administration has given to distressed farm families has been to help in scaling down debts by voluntary agreement between debtors and creditors.

The results of this program of rural rehabilitation may be summarized as follows: (1) there has been economic rehabilitation of families, as evidenced by the fact that in spite of recent drought and flood, about 49 percent of the installments due on these loans have already been paid; (2) improvement has been made in the net worth of families included in the program; (3) higher living standards have been achieved; (4) better farming practices have been taught; (5) hope for a better future and a wider opportunity, particularly among the young people, has displaced despair and darkness of outlook.

Suburban Resettlement. This phase of the work of the Resettle-

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ment Administration involves the building of communities on the outskirts of cities for low-income city workers.

These projects—called “Greenbelt Towns”—are complete communities rather than mere rows of houses in the suburbs. Each community is designed to accommodate from 570 to 885 families, with its own stores, post office, community center, schools, parks and playgrounds. Encircling the residential section is the green belt from which the projects take their names, a girdle of farm and woodland as protection against undesirable building encroachment in the future. It provides garden tracts for those who wish to augment their income by raising some of their food.

The greenbelt towns will provide a ready-made market for neighboring farmers. The affairs of each greenbelt community, after the people have taken possession, will be turned over to a corporation of which all citizens will be members, and which will collect rents, pay taxes and manage the repayment of the investment to the Government.

After an exhaustive survey, three places were selected for demonstration projects of this kind. Cities were surveyed to find those which offered the greatest likelihood of expansion, increased employment and need for new housing.

The cities selected for these developments were Washington, D. C. (the town of Greenbelt), Cincin-

nati, Ohio (the town of Greenhills), and Milwaukee, Wisconsin (the town of Greendale). A fourth project was planned for Bound Brook, New Jersey (town of Greenbrook), but work on this was stopped by court action before land purchase had proceeded far. Work is now being completed on these projects and employment has been given to about 12,000 men, selected through W.P.A.

By Executive Order 7530, effective January 1, 1937, the powers and functions of the Resettlement Administration were transferred to the Secretary of Agriculture.

The following quotation from the first report of the Resettlement Administration broadly sums up its activities and objectives to date:

“The work of the Resettlement Administration is a rebuilding of that which was unwisely destroyed for decades—our land and the life it produced. The Resettlement Administration cannot hope to do a complete job in a short period of time on the various problems presented above. In its land program, the immediate objective is to deal with but one-tenth of the substandard land; in its rural resettlement program, a small fraction of people needing resettlement can be helped; its rehabilitation program is giving hundreds of thousands of farmers a new start in life, but there are many thousands more who could be helped; its suburban program cannot solve the housing problems—the work can be a demonstration.

Transfer of Land Program

But the Resettlement Administration is pointing the way and is arriving at solutions. If its work is continued for a long enough period, future generations will reap the full profit of intelligent handling of some of the most difficult problems confronting our country."

51 ¶ Transfer of Land Program of F.E.R.A. to the Resettlement Administration. Executive Order No. 7028. May 1, 1935

BY VIRTUE of and pursuant to the authority vested in me under Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act, approved June 16, 1933 (48 Stat. 200), I hereby:

1. Transfer from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration to the Resettlement Administration (a) all the real and personal property or any interest therein, together with all contracts, options, rights and interests, books, papers, memoranda, records, etc., acquired by the Federal Emergency Relief Administrator and the Director of the Land Program, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, under allocations, allotments, or transfers of funds made to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration under appropriations for carrying out the provisions of the said National Industrial Recovery Act as made by the Fourth Deficiency Act, fiscal year 1933, approved June 16, 1933 (48 Stat. 274, 275), and by the Emergency Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1935, approved June 19, 1934 (48 Stat. 1055), and (b) all personnel now employed under the supervision of the Director of the Land Program, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, in the District of Columbia and elsewhere.

2. Authorize the Administrator of the Resettlement Administration to administer the property transferred to him by this Executive Order and to exercise with respect to any real or personal property or any interest therein, contracts, options, rights, and interests, books, papers, memoranda, and records in connection with such property, all the powers and functions given to the Federal Emergency Relief Administrator and the Director of the

Resolutions by the Business Advisory Council

Land Program by Executive Order No. 6983 of March 6, 1935, Executive Order No. 6747 of June 23, 1934, the letter from the President to the Secretary of the Treasury of August 28, 1934, allocating funds to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and Executive Order No. 6910-B of December 1, 1934.

3. Transfer and allocate to the Resettlement Administration all balances of appropriations heretofore made available to, or allotted for expenditure by, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, under the said National Industrial Recovery Act and the said Emergency Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1935, to be used for the purposes for which said moneys were originally allocated or transferred to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

(See preceding Item and Note.)

52 ¶ Resolutions Presented to the President by the Business Advisory Council of the Department of Commerce. White House Statement.

May 2, 1935

The Business Advisory Council today reaffirmed the resolution passed by it on March 13, 1935, recommending the continuance of N.I.R.A. with the necessary changes outlined in that resolution, as an emergency measure, for a further trial period of two years.

The Business Advisory Council believes that any briefer extension with changes less adequate than those outlined in the resolution will lead to a period of non-compliance, uncertainty and confusion.

The resolution follows:

The National Industrial Recovery Act has not been in effect long enough to demonstrate whether or not it will be effective for its purposes. Its accomplishments in connection with child labor, maximum hours, minimum wages and collective bargaining are noteworthy. We believe that further progress will best be brought about by its continuance for a further period of two years, rather than the enactment of different and alternate legislation.

Resolutions by the Business Advisory Council

It is recommended, therefore, that Federal legislation on these subjects during the present session of Congress should be limited to the extension of the present Act along lines suggested in the resolution approved by this Council on January 17, 1935, copy of which is attached, for a further trial period of two years. Such legislation as the Black 30-hour Bill (S. 87), the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill (S. 1958), and the Connery Equal Representation Bill (H.R. 4884) should not be enacted.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON REVISION OF THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT

We recommend that the Act be continued as an emergency measure for a further trial period of two years with the following modifications:

NEGOTIATION OF CODES

It should be made clear that the approval of a Code of Fair Competition must be on the basis of a mutual agreement between the industry and the President, the primary responsibility for formulating and presenting a code to rest with the industry. The President should have the power to withhold such a code unless he is satisfied that its provisions are in the public interest. On the other hand, he should have no power to impose fair trade practice provisions against the wishes of an industry, with the exception of those of Section 7.

Industry should have the right, by petition of a trade association or group truly representative, to withdraw from any code provisions which it may have voluntarily accepted. Provision should be made to permit codified industries to continue under agreements and codes approved under N.I.R.A. if the industry so desires.

The President should have the right to cancel outright an entire code where it appears that provisions of such code are working to the detriment of the public interest, but he should have no authority to modify existing codes without the consent of the industry.

Section 3(d) of the present Act, which empowers the President to impose a code, should be modified as follows:

GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY TO IMPOSE LABOR PROVISIONS

All codes should contain provisions against child labor and should provide for minimum wages and maximum hours, either to be nego-

Resolutions by the Business Advisory Council

tiated under Section 7(b) or imposed by the President under Section 7(c). Under the authority of Section 7 the President should impose codes only if he finds that conditions in a particular industry make such imposition desirable in the public interest. In the formulation of such imposed codes, the setting of wages and hour provisions should be for the protection of labor and industry against unsocial practices.

PENALTIES

The Act should be written as involving civil rather than criminal liabilities.

Violations of code provisions should preferably receive injunctive relief only. Criminal proceedings should be confined only to those offenders who knowingly falsify statistical data or statements with intent to mislead the Government.

The Members of the Business Advisory Council are:

Winthrop W. Aldrich, *New York City*
James F. Bell, *Minneapolis, Minn.*
Charles A. Cannon, *Kannapolis, N. C.*
David R. Coker, *Hartsville, S. C.*
Karl T. Compton, *Cambridge, Mass.*
F. B. Davis, Jr., *New York City*
Henry S. Dennison, *Framingham, Mass.*
R. R. Deupree, *Cincinnati, Ohio*
Ernest G. Draper, *New York City*
Gano Dunn, *New York City*
Pierre S. du Pont, *Wilmington, Del.*
R. G. Elbert, *New York City*
John H. Fahey, *Worcester, Mass.*
Lincoln Filene, *Boston, Mass.*
T. Austin Finch, *Thomasville, N. C.*
Ralph E. Flanders, *Springfield, Vt.*
James D. Francis, *Huntington, W. Va.*
Walter S. Gifford, *New York City*
A. P. Greensfelder, *St. Louis, Mo.*
Lew Hahn, *New York City*

Henry I. Harriman, *Washington, D. C.*
W. A. Harriman, *New York City*
Henry H. Heimann, *Niles, Mich.*
Howard Heinz, *Pittsburgh, Pa.*
William A. Julian, *Cincinnati, Ohio*
H. P. Kendall, *Boston, Mass.*
Fred I. Kent, *New York City*
de Lancey Kountze, *New York City*
Morris E. Leeds, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
C. K. Leith, *Madison, Wis.*
Robert L. Lund, *St. Louis, Mo.*
Thomas H. McInnerney, *New York City*
George H. Mead, *Dayton, Ohio*
James H. Rand, Jr., *New York City*
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Harold C. Smith, *Chicago, Ill.*
E. T. Stannard, *New York City*
Robert Douglas Stuart, *Chicago, Ill.*
Gerard Swope, *New York City*
Myron C. Taylor, *New York City*

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Walter C. Teagle, *New York City*

Edmond C. Van Diest, *Colorado Springs, Colo.*

W. J. Vereen, *Moultrie, Ga.*

Thomas J. Watson, *New York City*

Sidney J. Weinberg, *New York City*

R. E. Wood, *Chicago, Ill.*

William E. Woodward, *New York City*

NOTE: The Business Advisory Council is a group of outstanding business men of the country who act in an advisory capacity, as a group, to the Secretary of Commerce. Although this Council was never technically a part of the National Recovery Administration, there was much identity in membership between the Council and the Industrial Advisory Board of N.R.A.

About the time of the presentation of the foregoing resolutions, the legislative controversy in the Congress over the extension of N.R.A. was at its height. There was also much discussion in the Congress of the proposed Black Thirty-Hour Bill, the proposed

Wagner National Labor Relations Act and the so-called Connery Equal Representation Bill. The parties in the controversy were involved in extended discussion as to the attitude they should take in regard to the proposed extension of N.R.A. and as to these various additional items of proposed legislation.

During that period the Business Advisory Council had assumed the status of a very substantial and significant spokesman for industry in general. After extended consideration the Council reached conclusions with respect to N.R.A. and to the other proposed bills, which were set forth publicly in the resolutions of May 2, 1935, above printed.

53 ¶ The Two Hundred and First Press Conference (Excerpts). May 3, 1935

(Business associations often misrepresent their membership — Necessity of Government check-up on some business men.)

Q. Mr. President, the National Business and Advisory Planning Council was here yesterday. I understand that you had something to say to them. Would you mind telling us something about that statement, if you made one?

THE PRESIDENT: I made a speech and my one regret is that there wasn't anyone to take it down because it was a good speech, on the spur of the moment.

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I told them a lot of things, went back into history, and I think that nearly all of them agreed — use this as background, of course — nearly all of them agreed with the fundamental principles that we were both talking about. I told them that, for example, going back just in my own personal experience, I felt that in altogether too many cases so-called organizations of business men were very misrepresentative of a very large number of business men or, to put it another way, that business thought has very often been diametrically opposed to the corporate expression of that thought through some kind of organization.

I told them, from my own experience, of certain cases that I had run up against. For example, the first year I went up to Albany there was a very bad fire in New York called the Triangle Fire. Some of you older people will remember it. It burned up 150 or 200 girls who were working in a garment factory, the Triangle Building. They could not get out because the doors leading to the fire-escapes were locked.

There was started in the Legislature a committee of inquiry of which Bob Wagner was chairman; and there was a very young, not very experienced young woman who acted, I think, as secretary of that committee to investigate factory conditions. Her name was Frances Perkins. Well, as a result of this investigation there was proposed a factory inspection law. Practically the whole State was for it; and I believe very firmly that the great majority of manufacturers were for it, also the great majority of business men. But the principal lobbyists before the Legislature and objectors to that bill while it was pending were the chambers of commerce and the merchants associations and the manufacturers associations who, in my judgment, were absolutely misrepresenting the membership of those societies.

And then I went on and I told them about other similar experiences, the 54-hour bill in the Legislature to curtail the working hours of women and children in industry to 54 hours a week. The associations that I had mentioned were always

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against the law whereas the overwhelming majority of business men and manufacturers were probably in favor of curtailing the work of women and children in industry to 54 hours a week. Again, they misrepresented their membership.

In the same way, just to go on, I will give the simple example I stated to them—the Workmen's Compensation Act. The previous one passed when Chief Justice Hughes was Governor of New York was declared unconstitutional; and we passed another one in the 1913 Session of the Legislature, providing for a twofold method of workmen's compensation, one with a State insurance fund and the other with private insurance companies. It was a perfectly sound measure and the best proof is that it is still on the statute books, still running smoothly and with comparatively few amendments in all these years. Most business men, most bankers and most manufacturers were in favor of workmen's compensation as a whole, but the chambers of commerce and the merchants associations and the manufacturers associations spent thousands and thousands of dollars trying to block the bill from going through.

And then I stated to them another phase of legislation of this kind. I said, "Take, for instance, the Triangle fire. There is an example. We had on the statute books of the State, before that fire, various laws requiring this safety device and that safety device, and the city ordinances required not only adequate fire-escapes but unlocked doors and doors that opened outward. The law was all right before that fire, but we left it up to the business men and the manufacturers to enforce the law."

Today there is a lot of talk about "let *us* do all these things." But practice has shown that unless there is some kind of Government check-up, whether it be a municipal check-up or a State check-up or a Federal check-up, there are a certain number of people who either through carelessness, very often carelessness, but in some cases with malicious intent

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to avoid the law, will fail to live up to it. Probably in the case of the Triangle fire it was a matter of carelessness on the part of the management that these doors going out to the fire-escapes were locked.

But, when we put in inspection through a Government agency, and they knew that somebody was coming around at unexpected or unknown moments to check up on them, from that time on the law was lived up to about 99 percent.

I just used those as examples, not in answer to, but in explanation of, some of the statements made in meetings that have recently been had in Washington. I think that there was a pretty general meeting of the minds among these thirty members of this business council and myself on the general principles and objectives that we are all seeking to attain.

I cut this out of the paper this morning, because I think it is rather choice. "Francis E. Powell, head of the United States Chamber of Commerce in London, last night said that the Old World is amazed at the stubborn fight being made by business here against the New Deal. Tall and silver-haired, Powell once was chairman of the Anglo-American Oil Company. He was astonished, he said, at the frosty reception that greeted his attempt yesterday to bring peace between American merchants and the White House. Hundreds of delegates of the United States Chamber of Commerce Convention sat in grim silence as Powell proposed that a group be notified to call on Mr. Roosevelt and pledge cooperation." Then it goes on, "'I was astonished by their attitude,' he told the United Press in an exclusive interview. 'It couldn't have happened anywhere else in the world. I have listened for days to the criticism of the Government's policies.'" . . .

Of course, the interesting thing to me is that in all of these speeches made, I don't believe there was a single speech which took the human side, the old-age side, the unemployment side. There were some glittering generalities, yes, "we hate to see old people starve," "we would not willingly throw people out

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of work," and so forth and so on — not exactly what you could call a constructive contribution.

However, the business men who were in here yesterday, I think they understand it pretty well just as I think the overwhelming majority of business men in this country, the individual men, the higher executives and the middle-sized executives and the lower executives, they understand pretty well what it is all about and I go along with them. . . .

54 ¶ The Creation of Machinery for the Works Progress Administration. Executive Order No. 7034. May 6, 1935

BY VIRTUE of and pursuant to the authority vested in me under the "Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935," approved April 8, 1935 (Public Resolution No. 11, 74th Congress), and of all other authority vested in me, it is hereby ordered as follows:

I. I hereby establish within the Government certain agencies, and prescribe their respective functions and duties, as follows:

(A) The Division of Applications and Information of the National Emergency Council, to be under the general supervision of the Executive Director of the National Emergency Council. Such Division shall receive all applications for projects, cause the applications to be examined and reviewed, obtaining when necessary aid and assistance of governmental departments or agencies, and transmit such applications to the Advisory Committee on Allotments hereinafter established. The Division shall furnish information to the public on allotments made and on the progress of all projects as they are initiated and carried forward.

(B) The Advisory Committee on Allotments, which shall be composed of:

The Secretary of the Interior, *Chairman*
The Secretary of Agriculture
The Secretary of Labor

The Works Progress Administration

The Executive Director of the National Emergency
Council

The Administrator of the Works Progress Administration

The Director of Procurement

The Director of the Bureau of the Budget

The Chief of Engineers, U. S. Army

The Commissioner of Reclamation

The Director of Soil Erosion

The Chief of the Forest Service

The Director of Emergency Conservation Work

The Chief of the Bureau of Public Roads

The Administrator of the Resettlement Administration

The Administrator of the Rural Electrification Adminis-
tration

The Federal Emergency Relief Administrator

The Director, Housing Division

The Vice-Chairman, National Resources Board, and a
representative of

(a) the Business Advisory Council

(b) organized labor

(c) farm organizations

(d) the American Bankers' Association, and

(e) the United States Conference of Mayors

Such Committee shall make recommendations to the President with respect to the allotments of funds for such projects covered by the applications submitted by the Division of Applications and Information as will constitute a coordinated and balanced program of work under the said Act.

(C) A Works Progress Administration, which shall be responsible to the President for the honest, efficient, speedy, and coordinated execution of the work relief program as a whole, and for the execution of that program in such manner as to move from the relief rolls to work on such projects or in private employment the maximum number of persons in the shortest time possible.

To this end, the Works Progress Administration shall have the following powers and duties:

The Works Progress Administration

1. To establish and operate a division of progress investigation, and to coordinate the pertinent work of existing investigative agencies of the Government, so as to insure the honest execution of the work relief program.

2. To formulate, and, with the approval of the President, to require uniform periodic reports of progress on all projects; and, where any avoidable delay appears, forthwith to recommend to the President appropriate measures for eliminating such delay, and, similarly, to recommend the termination of projects where it develops that they are not affording the amount of employment warranting their continuance.

3. With the approval of the President, to prescribe rules and regulations:

a. To assure that as many of the persons employed on all work projects as is feasible shall be persons receiving relief; and

b. To govern the selection of such persons for such employment.

4. To formulate and administer a system of uniform periodic reports of the employment on such projects of persons receiving relief.

5. To investigate wages and working conditions and to make and submit to the President such findings as will aid the President in prescribing working conditions and rates of pay on projects.

In addition to the foregoing powers and duties, the Works Progress Administration shall:

1. Provide for the coordination of such data compiling projects as form a part of the work relief program and of such portions of other research activities as may be necessary or useful in carrying out such program.

2. Coordinate all requests for opinions and decisions addressed to the Executive departments or independent establishments of the Government on questions affecting the administration of the Act or of orders issued thereunder.

The Works Progress Administration

3. Recommend and carry on small useful projects designed to assure a maximum of employment in all localities.

The Federal Emergency Relief Administrator shall serve also as Administrator of the Works Progress Administration.

II. I hereby direct:

(A) The Secretary of the Treasury, (1) through the disbursing and accounting facilities under the Commissioner of Accounts and Deposits of the Treasury Department, to make provision for all disbursements from the funds appropriated by the "Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935," subject only to such exceptions as the Secretary may authorize, and to maintain a system of accounts necessary to enable the President (a) to exercise Executive control over such funds, (b) to provide current financial and accounting information for governmental agencies concerned, and (c) to make a complete report to the Congress concerning expenditures made and obligations incurred, by classes and amounts, and (2) through the Director of Procurement, to purchase, or to provide a system for the purchase of all materials, supplies and equipment to be procured with the said funds.

(B) The Director of the Bureau of the Budget to pass upon all requests for allotment of funds for administrative expenses.

III. All permanent and emergency agencies of the Government will afford full cooperation to the agencies herein established or designated and make available such personnel and facilities as may aid in carrying out the provisions of the said Act.

IV. The agencies established or designated hereunder are hereby authorized to prescribe such administrative procedures, and to submit for the approval of the President such rules and regulations as may be necessary, to carry out their respective duties and powers under the provisions of this Order.

V. Within such amounts as may hereafter be allotted by the President, the agencies herein established or designated are authorized to employ the services and means mentioned in subdivision (a) of Section 3 of said Emergency Relief Appropriation

The Works Progress Administration

Act of 1935, to the extent therein provided, and, within the limitation prescribed by such section and at the direction of the President, to exercise the authority with respect to personnel conferred by subdivision (b) thereof: Provided, That so far as practicable the persons employed under the authority of this section shall be selected from those receiving relief.

NOTE: There has been a growing conviction on the part of the Congress and myself that the time had come when the Federal Government could well afford to withdraw from the field of direct relief, leaving that responsibility to the various States and localities, and to establish a larger Works Program for the unemployed who were employable. Plans were laid therefore for dismantling the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and for drafting a new Works Program. By the end of December, in fact, F.E.R.A. grants to the States were almost entirely terminated. The foregoing Executive Order established the Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.) as the key agency in the Federal Works Program. W.P.A. was charged with the responsibility for an honest, efficient, speedy and coordinated execution of the work relief program as a whole.

The Works Program is the term used to designate the entire program of emergency work provided by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Acts of 1935, 1936, and 1937. Forty Federal agencies participated in it, including Resettlement Administration (R.A.), Rural Electrification Administration (R.E.A.),

National Youth Administration (N.Y.A.), Civilian Conservation Corps (C.C.C.), Public Works Administration (P.W.A.), and Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.). Works Progress Administration was the largest employer among these groups. By February, 1936, it had reached a peak of over three million persons.

The Works Program had the advantage of the experience of the prior agencies in large-scale emergency work relief. It left the entire responsibility for direct relief for unemployables to the States and localities, except in those limited fields covered by the Federal Social Security Act. With respect to work projects, the State and local governments were given the responsibility, with few exceptions, of originating and planning the work to fit local needs and also of determining the eligibility of workers on the basis of actual need. At the same time, through Federal approval of these projects and through the carrying out of a Federal wages and hours policy and by means of Federal accounting and purchasing, there were obtained a general centralized planning and responsibility.

The Works Progress Administration

In view of the fact that the principal purpose of W.P.A. was to provide work, Federal approval was given only to projects which could be carried out by the type of unemployed workers available in the respective communities. The aim was to obtain projects in each community which could be performed by the kind of workers in that community who were employable. On the average, 85 percent of the Federal funds spent on W.P.A. projects went directly into wages for labor.

States and localities which initiated W.P.A. projects were required to provide funds, materials, or equipment in accordance with their financial ability. On projects which involved heavy outlay for materials and other non-labor costs, the local community was required to supplement the Federal allotment proportionately. Taking the program as a whole, local funds made up 16 percent of the total expenditures on W.P.A. projects, the proportion increasing steadily, and 80 percent of these local contributions was used for materials, supplies and equipment.

Under the Congressional authority given in the Acts of 1935 and 1936 the general categories of work and the amount of money which could be spent for each were specified.

W.P.A. in its wage policy sought to provide an assured monthly income called a "security wage," slightly higher than the income from direct relief but lower than the monthly wages in private employment. In order to meet the criticism that the low relief wages would drag down prevailing hourly rates of other labor, the policy was adopted in 1936 of paying prevailing hourly wages, but reducing the hours of work so that total earnings remained at security wage levels.

In the few exceptions in which the projects were not initiated by States, cities, villages, towns, counties, districts, highway commissions, boards of education, boards of health, park boards, etc., the W.P.A. itself acted as sponsor. These activities were usually devoted to artistic and historical and clerical work which was designed for the so-called white-collar workers.

In line with progress toward recovery, the number of W.P.A. workers has declined substantially since the peak in February, 1936. The future need of a Federal Work Relief Agency will depend, of course, upon the trend of business and the supply of private jobs, but the outlines of a sound national policy for work relief have become fixed through the long experience which culminated in W.P.A.

(See note to Item 240, Vol. V, for a statement of W.P.A. projects and accomplishments.)

On Mother's Day

55 ¶ Statement by the President on Mother's Day. May 7, 1935

ON THE ninth day of May, 1914, President Wilson, in response to a Joint Resolution of the Congress, issued a proclamation directing Government officials to display the United States flag on all Government buildings and inviting the people of the United States to display the flag at their homes or other suitable places on each second Sunday in May as a public expression of our love and reverence for the mothers of our country.

In the intervening years the observance of Mother's Day has assumed a deep and growing significance. It is not my purpose this year to issue a special proclamation on the subject as I believe that the attention of the American people will be so devoted to the cause of that day that repeated formal action on the part of the Chief Executive is unnecessary.

I prefer to think that the tributes which will be paid to mothers will come simply and spontaneously from our hearts.

56 ¶ A Letter on the President's Press Conferences. May 8, 1935

My dear Mr. Speaker:

I WISH very much that you would thank the House of Representatives and Congressman John Martin of Colorado, in particular, for the opportunity given me in House Resolution 212 to transmit the transcript of my conference with the Press, wherein I spoke of the historic attitude of certain types of business organizations toward legislative proposals which have been introduced in the Congress of the United States and in many State Legislatures during the last twenty years or more. I do appreciate this opportunity.

I do not believe, however, that it would be advisable for me to create the precedent of sending to the Congress for documen-

A Letter on Press Conferences

tary use the text of remarks I make at the bi-weekly conferences with the newspaper representatives here in Washington.

It is my desire that these conferences should be continued on the free and open basis which I have endeavored to maintain at all times. To create the precedent of permitting questions and answers which come up at a Press Conference to be transcribed and printed in the Congressional Record or other official documents would mean that I no longer would feel like speaking extemporaneously and informally, as is my habit, and it would bring to me a consciousness of restraint as well as a necessity for constant preparation of my remarks. The simple truth is that I do not have the time to give to such preparation for a press conference.

I much prefer to continue the conferences in the free and informal fashion. The newspapermen, except where particular permission is given, do not directly quote the statements I make to them. They do, however, use them in substance and the press reports generally published following the conference of Friday, May 3rd, last, present an accurate record of the statements I made at that time. As a matter of fact, there would be little difference between the transcript of this conference and the published reports except that one would be in the nature of a direct quotation and the other would be indirect.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Joseph W. Byrns,
Speaker of the House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

Welcome to Rear-Admiral Byrd

57 ¶ A Welcome to Rear-Admiral Richard E. Byrd on His Return from the Antarctic.

May 10, 1935

Admiral Byrd:

I WELCOME you and your comrades on your return to the United States.

I do this with a sense of high privilege and for two very good reasons.

The first is because of the close association and deep friendship which have existed between you and me for many long years.

The second is because once more you have completed a successful expedition for the gain of human knowledge and the furtherance of the progress of civilization.

It is no small thing to have filled in another large portion of the map of the world which hitherto had remained a blank. It is an equally great achievement to have added valuable information to at least twenty-two separate sciences.

I have been especially interested in the meteorological data obtained by you and your comrades in that Antarctic Continent in which storms and weather changes originate and make themselves later felt in many largely inhabited areas.

To have carried these ship comrades to a dangerous outpost, to have developed your exploratory and scientific work through many months, under the most trying conditions, and to have brought them all safely home to their country and to their families, is an achievement of which the whole Nation is proud.

And so I salute you and your comrades and extend to all of you, in behalf of the American people, a hearty welcome home.

58 ¶ The Establishment of the Rural Electrification Administration. Executive Order No. 7037.

May 11, 1935

BY VIRTUE of and pursuant to the authority vested in me under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, approved April 8, 1935 (Public Resolution No. 11, 74th Congress), I hereby establish an agency within the Government to be known as the "Rural Electrification Administration," the head thereof to be known as the Administrator.

I hereby prescribe the following duties and functions of the said Rural Electrification Administration to be exercised and performed by the Administrator thereof to be hereafter appointed:

To initiate, formulate, administer, and supervise a program of approved projects with respect to the generation, transmission, and distribution of electric energy in rural areas.

In the performance of such duties and functions, expenditures are hereby authorized for necessary supplies and equipment; law books and books of reference, directories, periodicals, newspapers and press clippings; travel expenses, including the expense of attendance at meetings when specifically authorized by the Administrator; rental at the seat of Government and elsewhere; purchase, operation and maintenance of passenger-carrying vehicles; printing and binding; and incidental expenses; and I hereby authorize the Administrator to accept and utilize such voluntary and uncompensated services and, with the consent of the State, such State and local officers and employees, and appoint, without regard to the provisions of the civil service laws, such officers and employees, as may be necessary, prescribe their duties and responsibilities and, without regard to the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, fix their compensation: *Provided*, That in so far as practicable, the persons employed under the authority of this Executive Order shall be selected from those receiving relief.

To the extent necessary to carry out the provisions of this Ex-

The Rural Electrification Administration

Executive Order the Administrator is authorized to acquire, by purchase or by the power of eminent domain, any real property or any interest therein and improve, develop, grant, sell, lease (with or without the privilege of purchasing), or otherwise dispose of any such property or interest therein.

For the administrative expenses of the Rural Electrification Administration there is hereby allocated to the Administration from the appropriation made by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 the sum of \$75,000. Allocations will be made hereafter for authorized projects.

NOTE: As Governor of New York I had been active for a long time in promoting measures to bring cheap electricity to the farms of the State. That was one of the major objectives in the development of the water power resources of the State and in a more adequate supervision of utility companies by the State.

Prior to the date of the foregoing Executive Order, only about one farm in ten in the United States had been electrified. During the depression years, extension of rural electrification lines came to a practical standstill. So few farms were being added to electric lines that it would have taken a half century to bring electricity to 50 percent of the farms in the United States.

Farmers of the Nation are entitled to the benefits of cheap electricity, not only because of the greater efficiency and the saving of labor which it entails, but also because of the greater leisure which it gives them for recreation and education. Farm housewives should also be given the benefits of labor-saving

which come from the use of cheap electricity and electrical household appliances.

In my letter to Secretary Ickes of July 9, 1934 (see Vol. III, Item 126), establishing a National Power Policy Committee, I pointed out as one of the desired objectives that "electricity be made more broadly available and at cheaper rates to . . . agricultural consumers."

The reports of the Mississippi Valley Committee and of the National Resources Board which had been submitted to me in October and December, 1934, respectively (see Item 8, this volume), had stressed the advisability and necessity of Federal participation in a rural electrification program. In my annual message to the Congress of January 3, 1935 (see Item I, this volume), I urged the inclusion of rural electrification as a part of the new Works Program. The Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 authorized these projects; and pursuant to the authority of that Act I issued the foregoing Executive Order establishing the Rural Elec-

The Rural Electrification Administration

trification Administration (popularly known as R.E.A.) with the duties and functions specified in the order.

The objectives of the program were: to bring the economic benefits and the living comforts of electricity to farms and farmers; to promote national recovery by creating new and profitable business for producers of electrical supplies and appliances; and to provide jobs on these projects for the largest number of workers.

To achieve these objectives, the Rural Electrification Administration lends the entire cost of building power and light lines in areas without electric service, on liberal terms of 3 percent interest, with amortization extended over a period of twenty years. In accordance with the policy of the Administration, preference in these loans was given to applications from public bodies distributing electricity.

While the R.E.A. does not itself engage in the building of lines, it helps develop sound projects by also lending the services of its legal, engineering and organization experts.

Immediately upon the setting up of this Administration, applications for rural electric lines and extensions increased greatly throughout the United States, owing to the demands of farms and farm organizations.

Finally in May of 1936 the Congress passed and I approved the

Rural Electrification Act of 1936 (Public No. 605, 74th Congress; 49 Stat. 1363).

This Act continued the program which I had initiated by Executive Order and provided for a ten-year program of rural electrification in the United States. Funds were made available to lend for rural line construction and for financing house wiring, and loans were authorized for the acquisition and installation of electrical appliances and equipment.

By Executive Order 7458, September 26, 1936, I transferred to the new statutory Administration, the personnel, functions and property of the Administration established by the Executive Order so that the same personnel is now continuing the work.

This program brought about, in 1937, the most spectacular increase in rural electrification in the history of the United States. As of December 1, 1937, the Administration made allotments totaling \$81,000,000 for rural electrification in 41 States. There were then on hand requests for projects in excess of \$90,000,000. The work of the Administration is also acting as a stimulant to construction by private capital. Approximately 41,000 miles of privately financed rural electric lines were reported under construction or completed.

The objectives of cheaper electricity for the farmer and his wife are being gradually achieved. It will do much to bring rural stand-

Address on A.A.A. to Farm Groups

ards of living closer to city stand- ing more attractive to the present
ards, and to make farms and farm- and future generations.

59 ¶ Extemporaneous Address on A.A.A. to
Farm Groups. May 14, 1935

I AM glad to welcome you to Washington. We can think of this occasion as a kind of surprise birthday party because it was exactly two years and two days ago that the Agricultural Adjustment Act became a law. I pretty well remember the occasion over there in the Executive Offices, and the fine group of representatives of farmers from every part of the country who stood around me when I signed the Act.

After that took place, and in record time, you and thousands of other farmers took hold. You set up the machinery to control your affairs and you put the new law to work.

I remember, too, the many—what shall I call them—the high and mighty people who said you could not do it, who said it was no use for you to try, intimating clearly that their only remedy to improve your situation was to let the sheriffs' sales go on. That was the old familiar way, the high and mighty way of balancing farm production with demand. Those people, my friends, did not understand and many of them do not understand today that, if the farm population of the United States suffers and loses its purchasing power, the people in the cities in every part of the country suffer of necessity with it. One of the greatest lessons that the city dwellers have come to understand in these past two years is this: Empty pocketbooks on the farm do not turn factory wheels in the city.

Let us go back for a minute to that spring of 1933 when there was a huge carryover. Let us take some examples. There was a carryover of almost thirteen million bales of cotton and a price, because of that carryover, of six cents a pound. Henry Wallace insists it was six and a half cents a pound, but I know that I got only four and a half cents for my cotton. You and I know what

Address on A.A.A. to Farm Groups

six-cent cotton means to the purchasing power of the Cotton Belt. And you and I remember that there was a huge carryover of tobacco and that the price of tobacco during the preceding six months was the lowest on record for a great many years. Wheat had a carryover of nearly four hundred million bushels and a price of thirty-five cents on the farm or less; corn, a price of fifteen cents a bushel on many farms—and I knew some farmers who sold it at nine cents; hogs, a price of three cents a pound.

You and I know what those figures meant in the way of purchasing power for forty million Americans.

When we came down here to Washington that spring we were faced with three possible ways of meeting the situation. The first method that was suggested involved price fixing by Federal decree. We discarded that because the problem of overproduction was not solved thereby.

The second plan was to let farmers grow as much as they wanted of everything, and to have the Federal Government then step in, take from them that portion of their crop which represented what we called the exportable surplus and, in their name and on their behalf, dump this surplus on the other Nations of the world. We discarded that plan for a good many reasons and one was because the other Nations of the world had already taken steps to stop dumping. From that time on, with increasing frequency they were raising their tariffs, establishing quotas and clamping on embargoes against just that kind of proposition. And that is why we discarded that.

Therefore, we came to the third plan—a plan for the adjustment of totals in our major crops, so that from year to year production and consumption would be kept in reasonable balance with each other, to the end that reasonable prices would be paid to farmers for their crops and unwieldy surpluses would not depress our markets and upset the balance.

We are now at the beginning of the third year of carrying out this policy. You know the results thus far attained. You know the present price of cotton, of wheat, of tobacco, of corn, of hogs and of other farm products today. Further comment on the successful

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partial attainment of our objective up to this time is unnecessary on my part. You know.

I want, for a moment, to emphasize that word "adjustment." It is almost a forgotten word just as some of you, once upon a time, were forgotten men. As you know, a great many of the high and mighty, with special axes to grind, have been deliberately trying to mislead people who know nothing of farming by misrepresenting — no, why use a pussyfoot word? — by lying about the kind of farm program under which this Nation is operating today.

A few leading citizens have gone astray from other causes — such as ignorance. I must admit that. For example, a few years ago in the countryside where I live, I was driving with a prominent city banker. Everything was brown. The leaves were off the trees. And all of a sudden we passed a beautiful green field. He asked me what it was. I told him it was winter wheat. He turned to me and said, "That is very interesting. I have always wondered about winter wheat. What I don't understand is how they are able to cut it when it gets all covered up with snow."

The other example was down in Georgia. An editor of a great metropolitan paper was visiting me down there in the summer-time when I showed him my farm with 40 or 50 acres of cotton, when the cotton was nearly grown but before the bolls had formed. Looking out over the cotton fields he said to me:

"What a large number of raspberries they grow down here!"

Well, raspberries was right. Because, at four and a half cents a pound for cotton his mistake was, perhaps, a natural one.

I was speaking to you about that word adjustment. I think it is your duty and mine to continue to educate the people of this country to the fact that adjustment means not only adjustment downward but adjustment upward. If you and I agree on a correct figure for a normal carryover in a basic crop, it means that if we have a bumper crop one year we will, by mutual consent, reduce the next year's crop in order to even up that carryover. At the same time, if we get a short crop in a given year, you and I agree to increase the next year's crop to make up the shortage.

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That is exactly what we are doing in the case of wheat this year.

Yes, it is high time for you and for me to carry, by education, knowledge of the fact that not a single program of the A.A.A. contemplated the destruction of an acre of food crops in the United States, in spite of what you may read or what you may have been told by people who have special axes to grind.

It is high time for you and for me to make clear that we are not plowing under cotton this year—that we did not plow it under in 1934 and that we only plowed some of it under in 1933 because the Agricultural Adjustment Act was passed by that Congress at that famous Special Session after a huge crop of cotton was already in the ground.

It is high time for us to repeat on every occasion that we have not wastefully destroyed food in any form. It is true that the Relief Administrator has purchased hundreds of thousands of tons of foodstuffs in order to feed the needy and hungry who have been on the relief rolls in every part of the United States.

The crocodile tears shed by the professional mourners of an old and obsolete order over the slaughter of little pigs and over other measures to reduce surplus agricultural inventories deceive very few thinking people in this country, and least of all the farmers themselves.

I have always supposed, ever since I was able to play around, that the acknowledged destiny of a pig is sausage, or ham, or bacon or pork. It was in those forms—as sausage, ham, bacon or pork—that millions of pigs were consumed by vast numbers of needy people who otherwise would have had to do without them.

Let me make one other point clear for the benefit of the millions in cities who have to buy meats. Last year the Nation suffered a drought of unparalleled intensity. If there had been no Government program, if the old order had obtained in 1933 and 1934, that drought on the cattle ranges of America and in the corn belt would have resulted in the marketing of thin cattle, immature hogs and the death of these animals on the range and on the farm, and if the old order had been in effect those years, we would have had a vastly greater shortage than we face today.

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Our program — we can prove it — saved the lives of millions of head of livestock. They are still on the range, and other millions of heads are today canned and ready for this country to eat.

I think that you and I are agreed in seeking a continuance of a national policy which on the whole is proving successful. The memory of old conditions under which the product of a whole year's work often would not bring you the cost of transporting it to market is too fresh in your minds to let you be led astray by the solemn admonitions and specious lies of those who in the past profited most when your distress was greatest.

You remember and I remember that not so long ago the poor had less food to eat, and less clothes to wear, at a time when you had practically to give away your products. Then the surpluses were greater, and yet the poor were poorer than they are today when you farmers are getting a reasonable, although still an insufficient, price.

I have not the time to talk with you about many other policies of your Government which affect the farm population of the country. I have not the time, although I would like to do it, to go into the practical work of the Farm Credit Administration which, in all of its ramifications, has saved a million farms from foreclosure and has accomplished the first great reduction in exorbitant interest rates that this country has ever known.

It is because what you stand for is so just and so wholly reasonable that no one today has had the temerity to question the motives of this grand "march on Washington." It is a good omen for Government, for business, for bankers and for the city dwellers that the Nation's farmers are becoming articulate and that they know whereof they speak.

I hope you have enjoyed your stay in Washington. Seeing your Government at first hand, seeing the immensity of government which, after all, is not surprising when you think of the immensity of the country — seeing all that at first hand, you have a better idea why sometimes our efforts in the National capital seem lumbering and slow and complicated. On the other hand, you may have seen, in this visit of yours, that we are moving

Subsistence Homesteads Activities

faster, that we are accomplishing more practical results than you have been led to believe by the high and mighty gentlemen of whom I have spoken.

We haven't quite got the engine tuned up yet but it is a mighty fine engine. I think after it has run a total of about a thousand miles it will be the best engine we have ever had.

I want to thank you for your patience with us, your Government. I want to pledge to you not only our wholehearted cooperation as you go forward, but our continued deep interest in a problem that is not just a farmer's problem because, as I have said before, your prosperity is felt in every city home, in every bank and in every industry in the land.

60 ¶ Transfer of Subsistence Homesteads Activities to the Resettlement Administration. Executive Order No. 7041. May 15, 1935

BY VIRTUE of and pursuant to the authority vested in me by Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act, approved June 16, 1933 (48 Stat. 200), I hereby:

1. Transfer from the Secretary of the Interior and such agents and agencies as he may have designated or set up pursuant to Executive Order No. 6209, of July 21, 1933, to the Resettlement Administration, established by Executive Order No. 7027, of April 30, 1935: (a) all the real and personal property or any interest therein, together with all contracts, options, rights, interests, books, papers, memoranda, records, etc., acquired by the Secretary of the Interior and any such agent or agency with the funds appropriated or made available to carry out the provisions of Section 208 of Title II of the said National Industrial Recovery Act, and (b) all personnel now employed under the said Section 208. . . .

NOTE: For a discussion of the sub- of the Resettlement Administration
sistence homesteads program see see Item 50, this volume.
Item 100, Vol. II; for a discussion

61 ¶ A Greeting to the Nineteenth International Labor Conference. May 17, 1935

To the United States Delegates to the Nineteenth International Labor Conference:

THE Nineteenth International Labor Conference to which you are accredited as delegates of the United States meets at Geneva on June 4, 1935. It is the first of these conferences at which this Government has been officially represented. In 1933 and again in 1934 we sent observers, but since then, in accordance with the Joint Resolution passed by Congress, the United States has become a member of the International Labor Organization and is now for the first time entitled to full representation on behalf of the American Government, American employers, and American workers.

A conference of this sort is truly an event of significance to the world. From fifty-eight different countries will be assembled governmental officials, employers and workers. Speaking for these three different interests, they will consider certain problems that affect the welfare of wage-earners throughout the world; and after their deliberations they will, it is hoped, propose specific recommendations for action by the several Governments.

On this year's agenda the Conference has a number of matters in which the United States has a deep interest. For example, the Conference proposes to consider an international agreement whereby the hours of work may be reduced to forty in certain specified industries. To the United States such a proposal is not novel. It represents on an international scale the sort of steps that we have already taken through the National Industrial Recovery Act and local legislation. But though it is not novel, it is a proposal for which I hope our delegates will earnestly contend.

Another significant item that the Conference will discuss is the problem of "Unemployment among Young Persons." In response to a request from Congress, the Secretary of Labor has recently made a report on this subject; and this report, in addition to our

Veto of the Bonus Bill

concrete accomplishments in this field, such as the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps, will undoubtedly guide our American delegates in their attitude.

I know that though there is much that we have to contribute to this Conference, there is also much that we have to learn. And I particularly urge that you, as our delegates, make careful inquiry into such phases of economic security, old-age pensions and unemployment insurance as may come up for discussion at the Conference. It is from the exchange of knowledge and suggestions on these topics that the United States will develop not merely a sounder national policy in the field of social legislation, but also a greater understanding of and sympathy with the problems of other countries.

(This letter was read in connection with the sailing of the American Delegation to the Conference at Geneva on May 22, 1935.)

62 ¶ The President Vetoes the Bonus Bill.

May 22, 1935

Mr. Speaker, Members of the House of Representatives:

TWO DAYS ago a number of gentlemen from the House of Representatives called upon me and with complete propriety presented their reasons for asking me to approve the House of Representatives bill providing for the immediate payment of adjusted-service certificates. In the same spirit of courtesy I am returning this bill today to the House of Representatives.

As I told the gentlemen who waited upon me, I have never doubted the good faith lying behind the reasons which have caused them and the majority of the Congress to advocate this bill. In the same spirit I come before you dispassionately and in good faith to give you, as simply as I can, the reasons which compel me to give it my disapproval.

Under the Constitution, I address this message to the House

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of Representatives, but at the same time, I am glad that the Senate by coming here in joint session gives me opportunity to give my reasons in person to the other House of the Congress.

As to the right and propriety of the President in addressing the Congress in person, I am very certain that I have never in the past disagreed, and will never in the future disagree, with the Senate or the House of Representatives as to the constitutionality of the procedure. With your permission, I should like to continue from time to time to act as my own messenger.

Eighteen years ago the United States engaged in the World War. A Nation of one hundred and twenty million people was united in the purpose of victory. The millions engaged in agriculture toiled to provide the raw materials and foodstuffs for our armies and for the Nations with whom we were associated. Many other millions employed in industry labored to create the materials for the active conduct of the war on land and sea.

Out of this vast army, consisting of the whole working population of the Nation, four and three-quarter million men volunteered or were drafted into the armed forces of the United States. One-half of them remained within our American continental limits. The other half served overseas; and of these, one million four hundred thousand saw service in actual combat.

The people and the Government of the United States have shown a proper and generous regard for the sacrifices and patriotism of all of the four and three-quarter million men who were in uniform no matter where they served.

At the outbreak of the war, the President and the Congress sought and established an entirely new policy in order to guide the granting of financial aid to soldiers and sailors. Remembering the unfortunate results that came from the lack of a veterans' policy after the Civil War, they determined that a prudent and sound principle of insurance should supplant the uncertainties and unfairness of direct bounties. At the same time, their policy encompassed the most complete care for those who had suffered disabilities in service. With respect to the grants made within the lines of this general policy, the President and the Congress have

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fully recognized that those who served in uniform deserved certain benefits to which other citizens of the Republic were not entitled, and in which they could not participate.

In line with these sound and fair principles, many benefits have been provided for veterans.

During the war itself provision was made for Government allowances for the families and other dependents of enlisted men in service. Disability and death compensation was provided for casualties in line of duty.

The original provisions for these benefits have been subsequently changed and liberalized many times by the Congress. Later generous presumptions for veterans who became ill after the termination of the war were written into the statute to help veterans in their claims for disability. As a result of this liberal legislation for disability and for death compensation, one million one hundred and forty thousand men and women have been benefited.

During the war the Government started a system of voluntary insurance at peace-time rates for men and women in the service.

Generous provision has been made for hospitalization, vocational training and rehabilitation of veterans. You are familiar with this excellent care given to the sick and disabled.

In addition to these direct benefits, the Congress has given recognition to the interest and welfare of veterans in employment matters, through veteran preference in the United States civil service and in the selection of employees under the Public Works Administration, through the establishment of a veterans' employment unit in the Department of Labor, and through provisions favoring veterans in the selection of those employed in the Civilian Conservation Corps. Many States have likewise given special bonuses in cash and veterans' preferences in State and local public employment.

Furthermore, unemployed veterans as a group have benefited more largely than any other group from the expenditure of the great Public Works appropriation of three billion three hundred million dollars made by the Congress in 1933, and under which

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we are still operating. In like manner the new four-billion-dollar Work Relief Act seeks to give employment to practically every veteran who is receiving relief.

We may measure the benefits extended from the fact that there has been expended up to the end of the last fiscal year more than \$7,800,000,000 for these items in behalf of the veterans of the World War, not including sums spent for home or work relief. With our current annual expenditures of some \$450,000,000 and the liquidation of outstanding obligations under term insurance and the payment of the service certificates, it seems safe to predict that by the year 1945 we will have expended \$13,500,000,000. This is a sum equal to more than three-fourths of the entire cost of our participation in the World War, and ten years from now most of the veterans of that war will be barely past the half-century mark.

Payments have been and are being made only to veterans of the World War and their dependents, and not to civilian workers who helped to win that war.

In the light of our established principles and policies let us consider the case of adjusted compensation. Soon after the close of the war a claim was made by several veterans' organizations that they should be paid some adjusted compensation for their time in uniform. After a complete and fair presentation of the whole subject, followed by full debate in the Congress of the United States, a settlement was reached in 1924.

This settlement provided for adjustment in compensation during service by an additional allowance per day for actual service rendered. Because cash payment was not to be made immediately, this basic allowance was increased by 25 percent and to this was added compound interest for 20 years, the whole to be paid in 1945. The result of this computation was that an amount two and one-half times the original grant would be paid at maturity.

Taking the average case as an example, the Government acknowledged a claim of \$400 to be due. This \$400, under the provisions of the settlement, with the addition of the 25 percent for deferred payment and the compound interest from that time

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until 1945, would amount to the sum of \$1,000 in 1945. The veteran was thereupon given a certificate containing an agreement by the Government to pay him this \$1,000 in 1945 or to pay it to his family if he died at any time before 1945. In effect, it was a paid-up endowment policy in the average case for \$1,000 payable in 1945, or sooner in the event of death. Under the provisions of this settlement the total obligation of \$1,400,000,000 in 1924 produced a maturity or face value of \$3,500,000,000 in 1945.

Since 1924 the only major change in the original settlement was the act of 1931, under which veterans were authorized to borrow up to 50 percent of the face value of their certificates as of 1945. Three million veterans have already borrowed under this provision an amount which, with interest charges, totals \$1,700,000,000.

The bill before me provides for the immediate payment of the 1945 value of the certificates. It means paying \$1,600,000,000 more than the present value of the certificates. It requires an expenditure of more than \$2,200,000,000 in cash for this purpose. It directs payment to the veterans of a much larger sum than was contemplated in the 1924 settlement. It is nothing less than a complete abandonment of that settlement. It is a new straight gratuity or bounty to the amount of \$1,600,000,000. It destroys the insurance protection for the dependents of the veterans provided in the original plan. For the remaining period of 10 years they will have lost this insurance.

This proposal, I submit, violates the entire principle of veterans' benefits so carefully formulated at the time of the war and also the entire principle of the adjusted-certificate settlement of 1924.

What are the reasons presented in this bill for this fundamental change in policy? They are set forth with care in a number of "whereas" clauses at the beginning of the bill.

The first of these states as reasons for the cash payment of these certificates at this time: That it will increase the purchasing power of millions of the consuming public; that it will provide

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relief for many who are in need because of economic conditions; and that it will lighten the relief burden of cities, counties, and States. The second states that payment will not create any additional debt. The third states that payment now will be an effective method of spending money to hasten recovery.

These are the enacted reasons for the passage of this bill. Let me briefly analyze them.

First, the spending of this sum, it cannot be denied, would result in some expansion of retail trade. But it must be noted that retail trade has already expanded to a condition that compares favorably with conditions before the depression. However, to resort to the kind of financial practice provided in this bill would not improve the conditions necessary to expand those industries in which we have the greatest unemployment. The Treasury notes issued under the terms of this bill we know from past experience would return quickly to the banks. We know, too, that the banks have at this moment more than ample credit with which to expand the activities of business and industry generally. The ultimate effect of this bill will not, in the long run, justify the expectations that have been raised by those who argue for it.

The next reason in the first "whereas" clause is that present payment will provide relief for many who are in need because of economic conditions. The Congress has just passed an act to provide work relief for such citizens. Some veterans are on the relief rolls, though relatively not nearly so many as is the case with nonveterans. Assume, however, that such a veteran served in the United States or overseas during the war; that he came through in fine physical shape as most of them did; that he received an honorable discharge; that he is today 38 years old and in full possession of his faculties and health; that like several million other Americans he is receiving from his Government relief and assistance in one of many forms—I hold that that able-bodied citizen should be accorded no treatment different from that accorded to other citizens who did not wear a uniform during the World War.

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The third reason given in the first "whereas" clause is that payment today would lighten the relief burden of municipalities. Why, I ask, should the Congress lift that burden in respect only to those who wore the uniform? Is it not better to treat every able-bodied American alike and to carry out the great relief program adopted by this Congress in a spirit of equality to all? This applies to every other unit of government throughout the Nation.

The second "whereas" clause, which states that the payment of certificates will not create an additional debt, raises a fundamental question of sound finance. To meet a claim of one group by this deceptively easy method of payment will raise similar demands for the payment of claims of other groups. It is easy to see the ultimate result of meeting recurring demands by the issuance of Treasury notes. It invites an ultimate reckoning in uncontrollable prices and in the destruction of the value of savings, that will strike most cruelly those like the veterans who seem to be temporarily benefited. The first person injured by sky-rocketing prices is the man on a fixed income. Every disabled veteran on pension or allowance is on fixed income. This bill favors the able-bodied veteran at the expense of the disabled veteran.

Wealth is not created, nor is it more equitably distributed by this method. A government, like an individual, must ultimately meet legitimate obligations out of the production of wealth by the labor of human beings applied to the resources of nature. Every country that has attempted the form of meeting its obligations which is here provided has suffered disastrous consequences.

In the majority of cases printing-press money has not been retired through taxation. Because of increased costs, caused by inflated prices, new issue has followed new issue, ending in the ultimate wiping out of the currency of the afflicted country. In a few cases, like our own in the period of the Civil War, the printing of Treasury notes to cover an emergency has fortunately not resulted in actual disaster and collapse but has never-

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theless caused this Nation untold troubles, economic and political, for a whole generation.

The statement in this same second "whereas" clause that payment will discharge and retire an acknowledged contract obligation of the Government is, I regret to say, not in accordance with the fact. It wholly omits and disregards the fact that this contract obligation is due in 1945 and not today.

If I, as an individual, owe you, an individual member of the Congress, one thousand dollars payable in 1945, it is not a correct statement for you to tell me that I owe you one thousand dollars today. As a matter of practical fact, if I put \$750 into a Government savings bond today and make that bond out in your name you will get one thousand dollars on the due date, ten years from now. My debt to you today, therefore, cannot under the remotest possibility be considered more than \$750.

The final "whereas" clause, stating that spending the money is the most effective means of hastening recovery, is so ill considered that little comment is necessary. Every authorization of expenditure by the 73d Congress in its session of 1933 and 1934, and every appropriation by the 74th Congress to date, for recovery purposes, has been predicated not on the mere spending of money to hasten recovery, but on the sounder principle of preventing the loss of homes and farms, of saving industry from bankruptcy, of safeguarding bank deposits, and most important of all — of giving relief and jobs through public work to individuals and families faced with starvation. These greater and broader concerns of the American people have a prior claim for our consideration at this time. They have the right of way.

There is before this Congress legislation providing old-age benefits and a greater measure of security for all workers against the hazards of unemployment. We are also meeting the pressing necessities of those who are now unemployed and in need of immediate relief. In all of this every veteran shares.

To argue for this bill as a relief measure is to indulge in the fallacy that the welfare of the country can be generally served by extending relief on some basis other than actual deserving need.

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The core of the question is that a man who is sick or under some other special disability because he was a soldier should certainly be assisted as such. But if a man is suffering from economic need because of the depression, even though he is a veteran, he must be placed on a par with all of the other victims of the depression. The veteran who is disabled owes his condition to the war. The healthy veteran who is unemployed owes his troubles to the depression. Each presents a separate and different problem. Any attempt to mingle the two problems is to confuse our efforts.

Even the veteran who is on relief will benefit only temporarily by this measure, because the payment of this sum to him will remove him from the group entitled to relief if the ordinary rules of relief agencies are followed. For him this measure would give but it would also take away. In the end he would be the loser.

The veteran who suffers from this depression can best be aided by the rehabilitation of the country as a whole. His country with honor and gratitude returned him at the end of the war to the citizenry from which he came. He became once more a member of the great civilian population. His interests became identified with its fortunes and also with its misfortunes.

Some years ago it was well said by the distinguished senior Senator from Idaho that: "The soldier of this country cannot be aided except as the country itself is rehabilitated. The soldier cannot come back except as the people as a whole come back. The soldier cannot prosper unless the people prosper. He has now gone back and intermingled and become a part of the citizenship of the country; he is wrapped up in its welfare or in its adversity. The handing out to him of a few dollars will not benefit him under such circumstances, whereas it will greatly injure the prospects of the country and the restoration of normal conditions."

It is generally conceded that the settlement by adjusted-compensation certificates made in 1924 was fair and it was accepted

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as fair by the overwhelming majority of World War veterans themselves.

I have much sympathy for the argument that some who remained at home in civilian employ enjoyed special privilege and unwarranted remuneration. That is true—bitterly true—but a recurrence of that type of war profiteering can and must be prevented in any future war.

I invite the Congress and the veterans with the great masses of the American population to join with me in progressive efforts to root a recurrence of such injustice out of American life. But we should not destroy privilege and create new privilege at the same time. Two wrongs do not make a right.

The herculean task of the United States Government today is to take care that its citizens have the necessities of life. We are seeking honestly and honorably to do this, irrespective of class or group. Rightly, we give preferential treatment to those men who were wounded, disabled, or who became ill as a result of war service. Rightly, we give care to those who subsequently have become ill. The others—and they represent the great majority—are today in the prime of life, are today in full bodily vigor. They are American citizens who should be accorded equal privileges and equal rights to enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—no less and no more.

It is important to make one more point. In accordance with the mandate of the Congress, our Budget has been set. The public has accepted it. On that basis this Congress has made and is making its appropriations. That Budget asked for appropriations in excess of receipts to the extent of four billions of dollars. The whole of that deficit was to be applied for work relief for the unemployed. That was a single-minded, definite purpose. Every unemployed veteran on the relief rolls was included in that proposed deficit; he will be taken care of out of it.

I cannot in honesty assert to you that to increase that deficit this year by two billion two hundred million dollars will in itself bankrupt the United States. Today the credit of the United States is safe. But it cannot ultimately be safe if we engage in a

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policy of yielding to each and all of the groups that are able to enforce upon the Congress claims for special consideration. To do so is to abandon the principle of government by and for the American people and to put in its place government by and for political coercion by minorities. We can afford all that we need; but we cannot afford all that we want.

I do not need to be a prophet to assert that if these certificates, due in 1945, are paid in full today, every candidate for election to the Senate or to the House of Representatives will in the near future be called upon in the name of patriotism to support general pension legislation for all veterans, regardless of need or age.

Finally, I invite your attention to the fact that, solely from the point of view of the good credit of the United States, the complete failure of the Congress to provide additional taxes for an additional expenditure of this magnitude would in itself and by itself alone warrant disapproval of this measure.

I well know the disappointment that the performance of my duty in this matter will occasion to many thousands of my fellow citizens. I well realize that some who favor this bill are moved by a true desire to benefit the veterans of the World War and to contribute to the welfare of the Nation. These citizens will, however, realize that I bear an obligation, as President and as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, which extends to all groups, to all citizens, to the present and to the future. I cannot be true to the office I hold if I do not weigh the claims of all in the scales of equity. I cannot swerve from this moral obligation.

I am thinking of those who served their country in the Army and in the Navy during the period which convulsed the entire civilized world. I saw their service at first-hand at home and overseas. I am thinking of those millions of men and women who increased crops, who made munitions, who ran our railroads, who worked in the mines, who loaded our ships during the war period.

I am thinking of those who died in the cause of America here and abroad, in uniform and out; I am thinking of the widows and orphans of all of them; I am thinking of five millions of

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Americans who, with their families, are today in dire need, supported in whole or in part by Federal, State, and local governments who have decreed that they shall not starve. I am thinking not only of the past, not only of today, but of the years to come. In this future of ours it is of first importance that we yield not to the sympathy which we would extend to a single group or class by special legislation for that group or class, but that we should extend assistance to all groups and all classes who in an emergency need the helping hand of their Government.

I believe the welfare of the Nation, as well as the future welfare of the veterans, wholly justifies my disapproval of this measure.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I return, without my approval, House of Representatives bill No. 3896, providing for the immediate payment to veterans of the 1945 face value of their adjusted-service certificates.

NOTE: The Congress did not pass the bill this year over my veto, but enacted substantially a similar bill in 1936. The vote in 1935 in the House of Representatives (May 22, 1935) was in favor of not sustaining my veto message 322 to 98; but in the Senate (May 23, 1935) the vote was only 54 to 40, not a

sufficient percentage to override the veto.

I vetoed the bill again in 1936 (see Item 12, Vol. V); but it was passed over my veto. The vote in 1936 to override the veto was 326 to 61 in the House (January 24, 1936); and 76 to 19 in the Senate (January 27, 1936).

63 ¶ Establishment of the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration. Executive Order No. 7057. May 28, 1935

BY VIRTUE of and pursuant to the authority vested in me under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, approved April 8, 1935 (Public Resolution No. 11, 74th Congress), I hereby establish an agency within the Department of the Interior to be known as the "Puerto Rico Reconstruction Admin-

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istration," and appoint Ernest H. Gruening as Administrator thereof, to serve without additional compensation.

I hereby prescribe the following functions and duties of the said Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration to be exercised and performed by the Administrator thereof:

To initiate, formulate, administer and supervise a program of approved projects for providing relief and work relief and for increasing employment within Puerto Rico.

In the performance of such duties and functions, expenditures are hereby authorized for necessary supplies and equipment; law books and books of reference, directories, periodicals, newspapers and press clippings; travel expenses, including the expense of attendance at meetings when specifically authorized by the Administrator; rental at the seat of Government and elsewhere; purchase, operation and maintenance of passenger-carrying vehicles; printing and binding; and incidental expenses; and I hereby authorize the Administrator to accept and utilize such voluntary and uncompensated services and, with the consent of the local government of Puerto Rico, such local officers and employees, and appoint, without regard to the provisions of the civil service laws, such officers and employees, as may be necessary, prescribe their duties and responsibilities and, without regard to the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, fix their compensation: *Provided*, That in so far as practicable, the persons employed under the authority of this Executive Order shall be selected from those receiving relief.

To the extent necessary to carry out the provisions of this Executive Order the Administrator is authorized to acquire, by purchase or by the power of eminent domain, any real property or any interest therein and improve, develop, grant, sell, lease (with or without the privilege of purchasing), or otherwise dispose of any such property or interest therein.

Allocations will be made hereafter for the administrative expenses of the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration and for authorized projects.

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NOTE: In the six years preceding 1935, Puerto Rico, like other parts of the United States, was suffering from general economic depression. But there was depression in Puerto Rico before 1929; and there were special factors in Puerto Rico after 1929 which made the depression much worse than elsewhere.

Sugar, which had always been the island's chief industry, had not been profitable for a decade before 1929. This was chiefly due to world overproduction. Two hurricanes of unusual destructiveness swept over the island in 1928 and 1932, causing great property losses estimated at a total of \$175,000,000. They not only damaged every important agricultural industry on the island—coffee, fruits, tobacco and sugar—but they also uprooted hundreds of thousands of families. By the summer of 1934 unemployment had reached a total of 350,000, out of a population of 1,700,000.

A difficult problem in Puerto Rico has been the pressure of a rapid increase of population at the present rate of 40,000 a year, in an area already overcrowded. In the thirty-nine years since the United States assumed control of the island, the population has virtually doubled. With the present estimated population of 1,800,000, there are 529 persons to the square mile. There is an arable area of about 1,225,000 acres, or an average of .7 acre per person.

In spite of the Insular Government's extensive health program,

the general health conditions of the island, due to overcrowding, malnutrition, bad housing and a generally low standard of living, are very bad.

Another basic problem has been the continuous and progressive concentration of the best lands of the island into fewer and fewer hands. The development of the sugar industry as a highly capitalized business, the lack of general diversified farming on the island, destructive storms, soil erosion, excessive birth rate, mounting unemployment—all these have caused extensive abandoning of farm lands and have increased the crowding of Puerto Ricans into city slum areas.

Although from the very beginning my Administration made relief funds available to Puerto Rico, it became apparent that these would serve no permanent gain unless they were applied in a manner which would bring about certain revisions in the island's economic life.

Therefore when the foregoing Executive Order was signed, under the authority of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, it was intended to institute a comprehensive program which would not only relieve the immediate problems of distress, but would tend to correct for the future certain adverse economic and social tendencies which had made the depression so much worse in Puerto Rico than elsewhere.

To the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration were entrusted

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nearly all the types of work which in the United States proper were performed by W.P.A., P.W.A., R.A., R.E.A. and T.V.A.

The funds which had been allocated to the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration (P.R.R.A.) by June 30, 1937, amounted to about \$40,850,000, of which there has been disbursed about \$28,000,000. By that date through the purchase of land, a resettlement program, workers' camps, forestry projects and a housing and building program, work had been provided to the extent of 68,476,000 man-hours. The peak of employment was reached in November, 1936, when a total of 59,000 persons were employed, over 90 percent of whom were from relief rolls.

The principal efforts of P.R.R.A. fall in the following categories:

1. *Land utilization:* Since agriculture was Puerto Rico's main source of support, rural rehabilitation and resettlement were made the chief object of the program. It sought to reestablish as owners of farm land individuals who were formerly small farmers or landless laborers. In that program more than 70,000 acres of land have been purchased; laborers' camps have been established wherever large tracts of land have been acquired; soil erosion, which has proceeded unchecked in Puerto Rico for generations, was made the subject of demonstration camps to prevent the tremendous continuing waste of soil. Land was purchased for resettlers; and initial

help was provided for them in the form of seed, fertilizers and insecticides.

One of the very important results of the new land policy was the initiation of vegetable farming in Puerto Rico. Up to this time vegetable raising was unknown in Puerto Rico. Despite the high cost of importing foodstuffs, nothing had been done in Puerto Rico to raise any crops other than sugar, tobacco and coffee. Under the new program, farmers were instructed as to the proper methods of raising vegetable crops. The result was to provide new articles of diet which were better for the health of the island, and also to lower the cost of living.

The Puerto Rican resettlement policy provides for small tracts of land for resettlement and homesteading, and the program is aimed directly at checking the trend of land concentration.

2. *Health activities:* Camp workers and homesteaders are all subject to medical observation and the usual types of prophylaxis. Rural medical centers have been set up. Physical examinations, treatment for malaria, smallpox vaccinations, typhoid fever inoculations, dental services—all these have been useful in improving the physical health of Puerto Rico.

3. *Sugar program:* Sugar has always been the basis of Puerto Rico's economic life. The history of the sugar industry in Puerto Rico has, however, been the history of con-

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centration of the best lands in a very few hands, in many cases absentee owners. Below these larger sugar enterprises are the *colonos*, or sugar cane farmers, independent cultivators whose holdings range from a fraction of an acre to over a thousand acres, and who were subject to exploitation by the large industrial sugar-factory operators. At the bottom of the sugar scale were the agricultural workers, poorly fed, badly housed, employed only for about five months a year, and exploited both by the *colonos* and by the sugar industrialists.

The sugar program of the P.R.R.A. has been directed at demonstrating that the problems which came from this social system might be corrected.

The acquisition of Central Lafayette and its transfer through a loan to all the farmers connected therewith organized in cooperatives were important steps in pointing the way to rectifying the worst social aspects of the sugar industry in Puerto Rico. Central Lafayette is an experiment only, which will determine whether that is the way to correct the social weaknesses inherent in the indispensable sugar economy in Puerto Rico.

4. P.R.R.A. has also waged an extensive campaign against the dreaded cocoanut bud rot, a disease which had begun to spread ruin among the palms of the island. It has aided in the development of agricultural cooperatives among cotton growers, corn growers, needle workers. It has embarked upon a rural electrification program, including the development of two new water-power projects. It has instituted a reforestation program for the island, and the development of recreation parks. Its work relief program on 177 work projects has not only provided work but has resulted in countless improvements in the physical assets of the island. It has embarked upon several slum clearance projects and new housing units.

These various activities of P.R.R.A. have not only reduced the number of unemployed and brought about better material opportunities for the men and women of the island. Through its long-range reconstruction program and the initiation of a sounder economy has come a rebirth of public morale to take the place of the despair with which Puerto Rico faced the future in 1933.

64 ¶ The Two Hundred and Eighth Press Conference (Excerpts). May 29, 1935

(Supreme Court decision invalidating N.R.A. codes.)

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't any news at all.

Q. Is there anything you can tell us for background or otherwise about this N.R.A. situation?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think so.

Q. What did you talk to General Johnson about?

THE PRESIDENT: The same as I have talked to seventy-five other people today and yesterday, the N.R.A. business men, lawyers and newspaper editors — those are the three classifications.

Q. You had better talk to us reporters.

THE PRESIDENT: No. When I get through talking to all of them, I shall talk to you and find out what to do. . . .

Q. Any plans for dealing with the coal situation?

THE PRESIDENT: No, the coal situation is a good deal like a good many of the other situations that are brought about by the Supreme Court decision. Well, if I were going to write the story — I am afraid you are going to get something now — if I were going to write the story I would do it something like this: The spot news is not in Washington! Now, I know what a difficult spot that puts you in, all of you, because you are supposed to represent spot news.

The real spot news in the present situation is what is happening as a result of the Supreme Court decision in every industry and in every community in the United States. That is the spot news.

I have, for instance, a good many resolutions that have come in. Here is one, right in front of me, that came in to me ten minutes ago. It is from the Cotton Textile Industry Committee resolving that they recommend that the cotton textile industry make no change in the conduct of its business and urge the industry to accept this as a general policy. Of course that has already been expressed by Mr. Richberg in his state-

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ment the other day, in which he said that he hoped, and we all hope, that the code provisions with relation to fair trade practices and with relation to wages and employment in general will be maintained. That is fine.

But, at the same time, what are we going to do, let us say, in the cotton textile industry if some mill starts lengthening out its hours and cutting its minimum wages? That is putting it rather squarely up to the cotton textile industry and it all comes back to the same old thing. Ninety percent of them, as I said a couple of years ago, want to play the game on the level. But what happens to their playing the game on the level if 10 percent of them go out and hit below the belt?

You have a coal situation where everything has been going along pretty well for two years; you did not have any labor troubles and you won't have them if the present coal code provisions are carried on. What would you do as a miner, if your individual company, the individual company you are working for, went out and broke the present coal code procedure?

In other words, it all comes squarely back to spot news outside of Washington. What is going to happen and what is happening today? Are there any of the garment trade people in the City of New York who cut their wages from twelve dollars minimum to eight dollars today? That is where your spot news is.

Are there any factories in New York or anywhere else this morning that said to the girls, "Instead of going home at five o'clock this afternoon, we have a lot of rush work on. You are going to stay until nine o'clock tonight." What are the girls going to do? Are they going to walk out at five o'clock and lose their jobs? That is where your spot news is for the next few days in this country. That is the way I would write that story. That is as far as I can go today, but that is how I would write it. . . .

Q. Have you talked to anyone concerning Congressional action

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to limit the power of the Supreme Court, as can be done under the Constitution?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Oh, I have had — this is the batch since nine o'clock this morning, but I suppose that we have had about fifty different suggestions. They go all the way from abolishing the Supreme Court to abolishing the Congress, and I think abolishing the President. That is, so as to make it complete. . . .

(This Press Conference was the first one following the decision of the Supreme Court on May 27, 1935, declaring N.R.A. unconstitutional so far as the code-making powers were concerned. *A. L. A. Schechter Corp. v. United States*, 295 U. S. 495. See Introduction to this volume for a short discussion of that decision. The Press Conferences on May 31 and June 4 also dealt with the same subject in part. They are Items 65 and 68 respectively of this volume.)

65 ¶ The Two Hundred and Ninth Press Conference. May 31, 1935

(Supreme Court decision invalidating N.R.A. codes — Appeals from business men throughout the Nation to do something to counteract the decision — Importance of the decision and its implications for the future — Recurrence to the horse-and-buggy age interpretation of interstate commerce — State v. Federal control over nationwide economic and social problems in mining, manufacturing, construction and agriculture — Advantages taken by "chiselers" in business — Effect of decision on other statutes of the New Deal.)

THE PRESIDENT: What is the news?

Q. (*Francis Stephenson*) That's what we want.

THE PRESIDENT: Have you any questions to ask?

Q. What did you do yesterday outside of seeing Mr. Richberg?

THE PRESIDENT: I saw lots of people. I telephoned to a lot more, and I am continuing to do it.

Q. Do you care to comment any on the N.R.A.?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Steve, if you insist. That's an awful thing to

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put up to a fellow at this hour of the morning just out of bed. Suppose we make this background and take some time because it is an awfully big subject to cover, and it is just possible that one or two of you may not have read the whole twenty-eight or twenty-nine pages of the Supreme Court decision.

I have been a good deal impressed by—what shall I call it?—the rather pathetic appeals that I have had from all around the country to do something. They are very sincere as showing faith in the Government. They are so sincere that you feel in reading them—and so far there have been somewhere between two and three thousand by letter and telegram and I haven't seen this morning's mail yet—so sincere that you feel the country is beginning to realize that something in the long run has to be done. And they are all hoping that something will be done right away.

I think probably the best way to illustrate it is to read you just a few telegrams that came out of this huge pile. They are all from business men, every one. I took out only the telegrams from business men. And they illustrate pretty well that the information that they have received since Monday through the press and through the radio has failed to explain to them the implications of the Supreme Court's decision. In other words, they are groping, and they have not yet had information from either the press or the radio or from me, which would put this situation in plain, lay language.

Well, for instance, here is one from Indiana. A State association of small—well, they are drug-store people. They start off:

“We commend you for what you have done to protect the small business man from ruthless destructive trade practices. We hope you will continue your sincere efforts to the end that Constitutional legislation be enacted that will save the small business man from eventual extinction.”

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In other words, "Mr. President, do please get some constitutional legislation that will save us."

Here is one from Jackson, Mississippi. This is another association of small business men.

"Stabilization of business through codes has been of untold value to America. We cannot urge you too strongly to seek some plan to further the great work. Unless the use of loss leaders by chain store vultures is prohibited the small independent merchants will be the greatest sufferers."

Here is one from New York:

"I respectfully appeal to you to issue a proclamation to uphold the N.R.A. and I suggest that the same be brought to the people for a vote. A crisis exists. Congress represents the electors and this will give you full power."

I am just giving you this to show the state of mind of people in the country because the situation has never been explained to them as yet.

Here is a man from Hastings. He says:

"Suggest you get button out. 'I am for the N.R.A.'"

That is his solution.

Here is a man from Westchester County. He says:

"My business was well on the way to recovery under the N.R.A. cigarette and cigar code. All indications point to conditions more chaotic than when you took office. Prices are being ruthlessly slashed. I, like all other small retailers, am keeping my faith in you to keep me from losing my business. Save the people."

In other words, "Mr. President, please save me."

Here is another man:

"Sincerely hope that you may be able to do something to replace the National Recovery Act in a legal form. Gladly

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admit that before the birth of the Act our business was very far below par and because of a code in our industry we made money in the past year which under the new conditions we cannot in the future. It would be a shame at this late date if the chiselers which you so properly dubbed them early in your Administration won this great battle. I would hate ever again to see Wall Street and utilities in control of the Government of the United States. I heard one hotel manager today remark now that the Act has been temporarily voided he would not have to pay code prices. He would make money in his business by paying his bell boys \$3.00 a week and so on down the line."

In other words, "Please do something to reestablish the codes."

Here is one from Iowa:

"We urge constructive legislation for the protection of the small business man. We feel such legislation is imperative if he is to survive."

Here is one from New York:

"The battle is on. Retailers demanding their pound of flesh. Next step sweat shop labor competitions. In the name of my hundred employees and our investment we beseech you to restore N.R.A."

Here is one from Georgia:

"Respectfully call your attention to section of Constitution referring to appellate power: 'The Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as Congress shall make.' Suggest act establishing compulsory standard of labor relations and fair trade practices for all industries substantially affecting interstate commerce and creating special court with exclusive jurisdiction thereover

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and excluding appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.”

That’s from a rather prominent lawyer in Atlanta who is also in business. That is another angle — another suggestion.

Here is one from Galveston, Texas:

“We feel that some law meeting the objections of the Supreme Court should be passed immediately to take the place of N.R.A. If this cannot be done by Federal law then think you should urge all States to pass laws to take care of this.”

That is another suggestion. That is the forty-eight-States man. Here is one from White Plains:

“I beg to submit following suggestion for making N.R.A. constitutional. Congress has unlimited power regarding income taxes. Make N.R.A. technically voluntary under Government sponsorship. Increase corporation income tax rate say 25 percent. Allow N.R.A. cooperating corporations 25 percent deduction on ground adherence reduces Federal relief costs.” . . .

Here is another firm:

“All good citizens are looking to you to exercise whatever power is at your command to prevent business chaos which seems inevitable following Supreme Court decision. Already [and then mentioning the name of a very large store] and many smaller people are rashly cutting prices.”

Q. Do you mind telling us the city from which that came?

THE PRESIDENT: I had better not because you might locate the store. (*Laughter*)

Here is one from Pennsylvania:

“I hope your Congress is intelligent enough to quickly come through with a new program that will definitely make your efforts a success and sustain all the good that has been brought about.”

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That is from a printing company.

Here is another one:

“Our business crippled by the decision. Chiselers already at our throats and have begun choking us. Need immediate action.”

Here is another one from a Massachusetts small operator in the candy business:

“Price cutting tactics have returned. We in this business require protection.” . . .

And so forth and so on.

I suppose there are several thousand along the same line, mainly from business men.

Now, coming down to the decision itself. What are the implications? For the benefit of those of you who haven't read it through I think I can put it this way: the implications of this decision are much more important than almost certainly any decision of my lifetime or yours, more important than any decision probably since the Dred Scott case, because they bring the country as a whole up against a very practical question. That is in spite of what one gentleman said in the paper this morning, that I resented the decision. Nobody resents a Supreme Court decision. You can deplore a Supreme Court decision, and you can point out the effect of it. You can call the attention of the country to what the implications are as to the future, what the results of that decision are if future decisions follow this decision.

Now take the decision itself. In the Schechter case the first part of it states the facts in the case, which you all know. Then it takes up the code itself and it points out that the code was the result of an Act of Congress. It mentions in passing that the Act of Congress was passed in a great emergency and that it sought to improve conditions immediately through the establishing of fair practices, through the prevention of unfair practices. It then goes on in general and says that even though

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it was an emergency, it did not make any difference whether it was an emergency or not, it was unconstitutional because it did not set forth very clearly, in detail, definitions of the broad language which was used in the Act. In fact, it says that it makes no difference what kind of emergency this country ever gets into, an Act has to be constitutional. Of course, it might take a month or two of delay to make an Act constitutional and then you wouldn't know whether it was constitutional or not — you would have to do the best you could.

Now, they have pointed out in regard to this particular Act that it was unconstitutional because it delegated certain powers which should have been written into the Act itself. And then there is this interesting language that bears that out. It is on page eight.

“We are told that the provisions of the statute authorizing the adoption of the codes must be viewed in the light of the grave national crisis with which Congress was confronted. Undoubtedly, the conditions to which power is addressed are always to be considered when the exercise of power is challenged. Extraordinary conditions may call for extraordinary remedies. But the argument necessarily stops short of an attempt to justify action which lies outside the sphere of constitutional authority. Extraordinary conditions do not create or enlarge constitutional power.”

Of course, that is a very interesting implication. Some of us are old enough to remember the war days — the legislation that was passed in April, May and June of 1917. Being a war, that legislation was never brought before the Supreme Court. Of course, as a matter of fact, a great deal of that legislation was far more violative of the strict interpretation of the Constitution than any legislation that was passed in 1933. All one has to do is to go back and read those war acts which conferred upon the Executive far greater power over human beings and over property than anything that was done in 1933. But the Supreme Court has finally ruled that extraordi-

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nary conditions do not create or enlarge constitutional power! It is a very interesting statement on the part of the Court.

However, the question of the delegation of legislative power is not so very important in this particular case because the Supreme Court has at least intimated that in so far as the delegation of power was concerned, the language of the Act could have been so improved as to give definite directions to administrative or quasi-judicial bodies and in that respect it refers to the methods already used in the case of the Federal Trade Commission and cites that with approval.

In other words, for the future the delegation of power is not an unsurmountable object, and undoubtedly an Act could be written which would in general conform to this opinion of the Supreme Court as to delegated powers—get that! So that is not the most serious implication yet.

However, you come down to something else which is the most important implication, and that relates to interstate commerce.

Before I go on to the other point there is one interesting paragraph on page eighteen in regard to the delegation of powers.

“Section 3 of the Recovery Act is without precedent. It supplies no standards for any trade, industry or activity. It does not undertake to prescribe rules of conduct to be applied to particular states of fact determined by appropriate administrative procedure. Instead of prescribing rules of conduct,”

it only prescribed, if you remember, objectives to be sought—

“it authorizes the making of codes to prescribe them. For that legislative undertaking, Section 3 sets up no standards, aside from the statement of the general aims of rehabilitation, correction and expansion described in Section 1. In view of the scope of that broad declaration, and of the nature of the few restrictions that are imposed, the discre-

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tion of the President in approving or prescribing codes, and thus enacting laws for the government of trade and industry throughout the country, is virtually unfettered. We think that the code-making authority thus conferred is an unconstitutional delegation of legislative power.”

Of course, there is a good deal said in the opinion about the imposing of codes. As I remember it there was only one code imposed and that was the alcohol code. I don't think there was any other code imposed by Executive Order.

Now we come down to this big thing. The implication of the provisions as applied to intrastate transactions. Why is it—let me put it this way—why is it that so many of these telegrams are futile? Why is it that so many of these letters and telegrams show that the senders do not realize what the rest of this decision means?

Let's put the decision in plain lay language in regard to at least the dictum of the Court and never mind this particular sick chicken or whatever they call it. That was a question of fact, but of course the Court in ruling on the question of fact about these particular chickens said they were killed in New York and sold and probably eaten in New York, and therefore it was probably intrastate commerce. But of course the Court does not stop there. In fact the Court in this decision, at least by dictum—and remember that dictum is not always followed in the future—has gone back to the old Knight case in 1885, which in fact limited any application of interstate commerce to goods in transit—nothing else!

Since 1885 the Court in various decisions has enlarged on the definition of interstate commerce—railroad cases, coal cases and so forth and so on. It was clearly the opinion of the Congress before this decision and the opinion of various attorneys-general, regardless of party, that the words “interstate commerce” applied not only to an actual shipment of goods but also to a great many other things that affected interstate commerce. . . .

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The whole tendency over these years has been to view the interstate commerce clause in the light of present-day civilization. The country was in the horse-and-buggy age when that clause was written and if you go back to the debates on the Federal Constitution you will find in 1787 that one of the impelling motives for putting in that clause was this: There wasn't much interstate commerce at all—probably 80 or 90 percent of the human beings in the thirteen original States were completely self-supporting within their own communities.

They got their own food, their own clothes; they swapped or bought with any old kind of currency, because we had thirteen different kinds of currency. They bought from their neighbors and sold to their neighbors. However, there was quite a fear that each of the thirteen States could impose tariff barriers against each other and they ruled that out. They would not let the States impose tariff barriers, but they were afraid that the lawyers of that day would find some other method by which a State could discriminate against its neighbors on one side or the other, or discriminate in favor of its neighbors on one side or the other. Therefore, the interstate commerce clause was put into the Constitution with the general objective of preventing discrimination by one of these Sovereign States against another Sovereign State.

They had in those days no problems relating to employment. They had no problems relating to the earning capacity of people—what the man in Massachusetts earned, what his buying power was. Nobody had ever thought of what the wages were or the buying capacity in the slave-holding States of the South. There were no social questions in those days. The question of health on a national basis had never been discussed. The question of fair business practices had never been discussed. The word was unknown in the vocabulary of the Founding Fathers. The ethics of the period were very different from what they are today. If one man could skin a fellow and get away with it, why, that was all right.

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In other words, the whole picture was a different one when the interstate commerce clause was put into the Constitution from what it is now. Since that time, because of the improvement in transportation, because of the fact that, as we know, what happens in one State has a good deal of influence on the people in another State, we have developed an entirely different philosophy.

The prosperity of the farmer does have an effect today on the manufacturer in Pittsburgh. The prosperity of the clothing worker in the city of New York has an effect on the prosperity of the farmer in Wisconsin, and so it goes. We are interdependent — we are tied in together. And the hope has been that we could, through a period of years, interpret the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution in the light of these new things that have come to the country. It has been our hope that under the interstate commerce clause we could recognize by legislation and by judicial decision that a harmful practice in one section of the country could be prevented on the theory that it was doing harm to another section of the country. That was why the Congress for a good many years, and most lawyers, have had the thought that in drafting legislation we could depend on an interpretation that would enlarge the Constitutional meaning of interstate commerce to include not only those matters of direct interstate commerce, but also those matters which indirectly affect interstate commerce.

The implication, largely because of what we call obiter dicta in this opinion, the implication of this opinion is that we have gone back, that the Supreme Court will no longer take into consideration anything that indirectly may affect interstate commerce. That hereafter they will decide the only thing in interstate commerce over which they can permit the exercise of Federal jurisdiction is goods in transit plus, perhaps, a very small number of transactions which would directly affect goods in transit.

Furthermore, they say on page 19, “(1) Were these trans-

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actions 'in' interstate commerce? Much is made of the fact that almost all the poultry coming to New York is sent there from other States" . . . "When defendants had made their purchases, whether at the West Washington Market in New York City or at the railroad terminals serving the City, or elsewhere, the poultry was trucked to their slaughter houses in Brooklyn for local disposition. The interstate transactions in relation to that poultry then ended."

Then to come to the next point, they take one very interesting stand; first they talk about necessary and well-established distinctions between the direct and indirect effects. They quote a number of cases and finally come down to the quotation from *Industrial Association vs. United States* at the top of page 23:

"The alleged conspiracy and the acts here complained of, spent their intended and direct force upon a local situation — for building is as essentially local as mining, manufacturing or growing crops — and if, by a resulting diminution of the commercial demand, interstate trade was curtailed either generally or in specific instances, that was a fortuitous consequence so remote and indirectly as plainly to cause it to fall outside the reach of the Sherman Act."

Now that is interesting because the implication is this: We have in this country about five major human activities. One is transportation and that is not listed here.

The other four are: first, construction. I suppose the theory is that the building, even though the materials come from other States and none of the materials come from the locality of the building, that the building is part of the land and therefore that nothing entering into the erection of that building can have anything to do with the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution.

The next, the third large occupation, is mining — that is to say the taking of coal, oil or copper or anything else out of the ground. The implication there is that no matter where

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the coal or oil or copper goes it cannot be considered to have any relationship to interstate commerce because it came out of one place. It was a part of a place or locus.

Another great occupation is manufacturing. The implication is that if I manufacture at Hyde Park, New York, let us say, a national article such as a national brand of tooth paste or a national brand of automobiles while I only sell a few tubes of tooth paste or four or five cars in the place of manufacture at Hyde Park, and sell the rest in interstate commerce, the actual manufacturing itself seems to be so closely tied to the actual factory, that it does not make any difference where the goods go and therefore the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution cannot apply to any of the elements of the manufacturing at that place, either to materials that may come from other States, to the working conditions that obtain in the factory, to the wages paid or to the unfair practices that I as a manufacturer may be engaged in.

And then finally you have a fifth great occupation of human life—the growing of crops. It evidently does not make any difference, after I grow my wheat, whether it is put in an elevator in a different State, perhaps to be commingled with other wheat and sold in Liverpool, or New York or Germany or in any other State of the Union—it does not make any difference. The fact is that the wheat was grown in one place, and therefore the growing of crops cannot be considered in any shape, manner or form as coming under the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution. Perhaps wheat actually in transit under this decision may come under it. But it could not if it were in storage, for example in a bin, because there it would be tied to a definite locality.

And so it does bring us up rather squarely as to the big issue in the country and as to how we are going to solve it. The big issue is this: Does this decision mean that the United States Government has no control over any national economic problem?

The simple example is crop adjustment. Are we going to

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take the hands of the Federal Government completely off any effort to adjust the growing of national crops, and go right straight back to the old principle that every farmer is a lord of his own farm and can do anything he wants, raise anything, any old time, in any quantity, and sell any time he wants? You and I know perfectly well that if we completely abandon crop control—I don't care whether it is the present method or, let us say, the McNary-Haugen method, because, after all, that is a Federal method, too—if we are to abandon Federal relationship to any national crop, we shall again have thirty-six-cent wheat. You can't stop it. Under present world conditions we will have five-cent cotton. That is obvious.

And then you come down to the next series of things—manufacturing. We have tried to improve the economic conditions of certain forms of manufacturing. I am not talking about the social conditions now. I am talking about the economic conditions, giving to manufacturers a chance to eliminate things that we have nationally concluded are not fair. For example, the chain stores going into little communities or big communities all over the country and starting a system of loss leaders. Of course anybody who does his own marketing, and all you ladies of the press will appreciate this, knows perfectly well that where there is the loss-leader system and you are trying to get along on a budget, you are going to look into the chain-store window and see what the loss leader is each day. You may get a can of peas for fourteen cents instead of eighteen cents; naturally you wait and buy the loss leader. The chain store can afford to put out loss leaders; but the independent grocery store cannot.

A number of States—and here we come down to the last question—have attempted to take away the privileges or the advantages that come to very large nationwide businesses, by imposing special taxes on chain stores, but only a few States have succeeded in doing it. And that is a very good illustration of the difficulty of correcting economic conditions by forty-eight separate actions.

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We attempted to do it in the codes by getting industry itself to formulate codes that would eliminate loss leaders. They did, and as a result the wave of bankruptcies of small stores which was under way throughout the country two years ago was stopped. And the volume of telegrams that has come in today leads one to believe that they again face, a great many of them, bankruptcies, or at least they think they do.

The other example is that of a department store which puts in a book department and sells all the latest detective stories that retail ordinarily at \$1.50—I ought to know because I read them—for ninety cents. Up to the time that their code went through, bankruptcies of small book stores throughout the country where these practices were engaged in were increasing. They were being put out of business because they could not afford to sell \$1.50 books for ninety cents. The big department stores could afford to do it, because people who went into that department to save sixty cents on a detective story undoubtedly bought a good many other things in that department store, and the store was able to make up the loss.

Now all that seems to be “out of the window.” We made a very sincere effort to eliminate things that were called unfair trade practices not only because they were hurting little fellows, but also because they were giving advantages to people with lots of capital or with nationwide systems—advantages over smaller men or local men. It seemed to be going pretty well. It was done under the general theory that, because these goods came from every part of the United States, there was a rather direct implication that they affected the internal commerce of the United States as a whole, and therefore came under the interstate commerce clause.

Then we come down to the mines. There have been a number of cases about mines, but the implication in this quotation is that mines and mining do not come under interstate commerce. It is purely a local thing no matter where the copper or the oil or coal goes. It is rather interesting, I think, that there are former decisions of the Supreme Court which

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have held much more liberally in labor cases, in mining cases where people were trying to get an injunction against labor. In those cases the Supreme Court has tended to approve mining injunctions on the ground that the coal was going to go into interstate commerce.

This case, however, seems to be a direct reversal in saying that where you try to improve the wages and hours of miners, the coal suddenly becomes a purely local intrastate matter and you can't do anything about it. Of course, here the shoe is on the other foot.

Those are the important human occupations affected by this decision, the mining and manufacturing and growing of crops—the important ones.

Well, what does it do? It seems to me it brings—oh, I suppose you will want to say an issue. I accept the word “issue” on one condition; and that is that you make it very clear that it is not a partisan issue. It is infinitely deeper than any partisan issue; it is a national issue. Yes, and the issue is this—going back to these telegrams that I have been reading to you: Is the United States going to decide, are the people of this country going to decide that their Federal Government shall in the future have no right under any implied power or any court-approved power to enter into a solution of a national economic problem, but that that national economic problem must be decided only by the States?

The other part of it is this: Shall we view our social problems—and in that I include employment of all kinds—shall we view them from the same point of view or not; that the Federal Government has no right under this or following opinions to take any part in trying to better national social conditions? Now that is flat and that is simple!

If we accept the point of view that under no interpretation of the Constitution can the Federal Government deal with construction matters, mining matters (which means everything that comes out of the ground), manufacturing matters or agricultural matters, but that they must be left wholly to

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the States, the Federal Government must abandon any legislation. Thus we go back automatically to the fact that there will be not merely thirteen Governments as there were in 1789 at a time where none of these questions existed in the country — but we will go back to a Government of forty-eight States.

Or we can go ahead with every possible effort to make national decisions based on the fact that forty-eight sovereignties cannot agree quickly enough or practically enough on any solution for a national economic problem or a national social problem.

When I was in Albany I had the desire of getting through the Legislature on two or three occasions certain bills relating to the improvement of factory conditions and the improvement of labor conditions, and people came to me and said, "If those bills go through we are going to move into Pennsylvania."

That gave to the Chief Executive of one State serious concern. Should he force the legislation and let these factories move out of this State into a State that didn't have any restrictions and didn't have nearly as advanced social legislation; or should he go in and leave certain evils just as they were? In other words, by the returning of all these powers exclusively to the States you will unavoidably develop sectionalism. Just imagine what will happen in the case of the cotton textile industry — the problem of the differential in wage between New England and the South. Less than two years ago that differential was more than five dollars a week in favor of the South. Under the code system it has been cut to two and a half dollars; and in all human probability if we had gone on under code methods, the differential would gradually have been cut still further. They were actually working on an additional cut in the labor differential in the cotton textile industry. That, of course, we have had to stop.

We come down, in passing, to the question of whether they can now live up to these codes. We hope so — surely. Everybody hopes that the wage agreements and codes will be lived

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up to, and every effort should be made to have people in every industry live up to the codes. I sincerely hope that everybody will live up to them.

On the other hand, as President, naturally, I have to think of what is going to happen to the country if people, some people, do not live up to them. You go back to the same old 90 percent and 10 percent we have talked about so often. There are, let's say, 100 of us in this room who are making cotton textiles. Each one owns a mill and out of the 100 there are three or four, that is all, who see an advantage to be gained—an immediate advantage of quick profit. So they cut their wages, and increase their hours, and go ahead with the stretch-out system beyond the code allowance. What is going to happen to us?

Let us say that it happens to be a mill right next to Charlie Hurd's (*one of the correspondents*) mill. Charlie Hurd, making the same kind of goods, is naturally going to call a meeting and he is going to say, "This fellow over here, Bill Smith, is cutting his wages and increasing his hours and increasing his stretch-out. And I am going broke." Well, we are going to have an awful lot of sympathy for Charlie Hurd, and what are we going to do about it? Probably he would say, "Do you think I ought to go broke?" and probably most of us would say, "Why, no; you came 100 percent right straight through, and we will release you from any obligation to keep on with these code practices."

Being human and in order to keep his head above water, he will probably try to meet the competition of the other fellow; and we wouldn't blame him one bit. So it is not a question of fighting industry. The great bulk of industry is perfectly sincere and honest in wanting to maintain good wages and fair hours, but the problem is going to be: Can they do it by agreement? That is the thing of course we cannot tell between Monday and Friday of this week.

You and I know human nature. Fundamentally it comes down to this. In the long run can voluntary processes on the

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part of business bring about the same practical results that were attained under N.R.A.? I mean the good results. Of course there have been some bad ones. But I mean the good results. Can it be done by voluntary action on the part of business? Can we go ahead as a Nation with the beautiful theory, let us say, of some of the press, "At last the rule of Christ is restored. Business can do anything it wants and business is going to live up to the golden rule so marvelously that all of our troubles are ended." It is a school of thought that is so delightful in its naïveté.

And so we are facing a very, very great national non-partisan issue. We have got to decide one way or the other. I don't mean this summer or winter or next fall, but over a period, perhaps, of five years or ten years we have got to decide: whether we are going to relegate to the forty-eight States practically all control over economic conditions — not only State economic conditions but national economic conditions; and along with that whether we are going to relegate to the States all control over social and working conditions throughout the country regardless of whether those conditions have a very definite significance and effect in other States outside of the individual States. That is one side of the picture. The other side of the picture is whether in some way we are going to turn over or restore to — whichever way you choose to put it — turn over or restore to the Federal Government the powers which exist in the national Governments of every other Nation in the world to enact and administer laws that have a bearing on, and general control over, national economic problems and national social problems.

That actually is the biggest question that has come before this country outside of time of war, and it has to be decided. And, as I say, it may take five years or ten years.

This N.R.A. decision — if you accept the obiter dicta and all the phraseology of it — seems to be squarely on the side of restoring to the States forty-eight different controls over na-

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tional economic and social problems. This is not a criticism of the Supreme Court's decision; it is merely pointing out the implications of it.

In some ways it may be the best thing that has happened to this country for a long time that such a decision has come from the Supreme Court, because it clarifies the issue. If the press and the radio of this country can make that issue perfectly clear, it will be doing a very great service. The telegrams that I have been reading to you, suggesting every kind of method of overcoming the decision, will not continue to come in, because all except a very few of them suggest remedies which are wholly outside of the opinion of the Supreme Court. In other words, they are in violation of that opinion — nine suggested remedies out of ten are in violation of the strict interpretation of that opinion.

I think it is perfectly proper to say further that the implications of this decision could, if carried to their logical conclusion, strip the Federal Government of a great many other powers. Federal alcohol control — well, that is gone — we know that is gone. This decision did it. Federal alcohol control was put in with an objective. At the end of Prohibition, when spirits and beer came back, I think everybody, whether on the Prohibition side or the anti-Prohibition side, believed that the Federal Government should do everything in its power to see that pure liquor and good liquor was offered to the American people. However, that is not, apparently, a Federal power. We have forty-eight Nations from now on under a strict interpretation of this decision — forty-eight Nations, each of which will prescribe a different standard for its own liquor, and will be completely powerless to prevent liquor from the next-door State, or ten States away, from coming into its borders.

It is a perfectly ridiculous and impossible situation. But it is a very good example of what forty-eight-independent-Nation-control means.

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Your next implication relates to certain things that we believe are within the Federal power. They have not been definitely outlawed by this decision; but the decision raises a very great question about them. The Securities Act of 1933, for example, was intended to prevent nationally the issuing of securities to the investing or speculating public under false pretenses. The Act required that, through a central Federal organization, securities that were proposed to be issued should have the full truth stated about them. That is all there was to it—it was a Truth in Securities Act and it has been working very well. However, securities, I suppose, like a crop or like manufactured goods, can be held to be issued in one place and bought by the public in one place, and are therefore wholly intrastate.

It does not make any difference whether the securities afterward go into forty-eight States or not. The issuance and buying in one State, like a crop or a factory product, have no character of interstate commerce about them under this decision.

In the same way the decision raises a question with respect to the Stock Exchange Act. After all, a stock exchange is just a building in one place—in one city. There are a good many of them scattered throughout the country. They sell various forms of securities, but each one is attached to the ground like wheat or cotton—like coal or anything else. The decision raises a question about that.

Then you come down to the A.A.A. itself. I have discussed that. The question is raised by this decision as to whether the Federal Government has any constitutional right to do anything about any crop in the United States; and it suggests by implication that forty-eight States should each have their own crop laws.

You see the implications of the decision. That is why I say it is one of the most important decisions ever rendered in this country. And the issue is not going to be a partisan issue for

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a minute. The issue is going to be whether we go one way or the other. Don't call it right or left; that is just first-year high-school language, just about. It is not right or left—it is a question for national decision on a very important problem of Government. We are the only Nation in the world that has not solved that problem. We thought we were solving it, and now it has been thrown right straight in our faces. We have been relegated to the horse-and-buggy definition of interstate commerce.

Now, as to the way out—I suppose you will want to know something about what I am going to do. I am going to tell you very, very little on that. There will be this afternoon or tomorrow morning an announcement in regard to pending cases. And there will be on Sunday or Monday a further announcement of another step. Probably in the next few days there will be a number of announcements which will be along that line. This is only for the next four or five days, along the line of clarifying certain existing situations. Let the bigger things sink in for the next four or five days. So many suggestions have come that I have asked all of the suggestors to send their suggestions to a central source—the Solicitor General and the Attorney General—in order that they might be digested. Nobody is writing out anything for me. And Steve says it is one o'clock daylight time and we have been talking an awful lot. Have you any other questions?

Q. (*Mr. Stephenson*) Can we use the direct quotation on that horse-and-buggy stage?

THE PRESIDENT: I think so.

MR. EARLY: Just the phrase.

Q. You referred to the Dred Scott decision. That was followed by the Civil War and by at least two amendments to the Constitution.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, the reason for that, of course, was the fact that the generation of 1856 did not take action during the next four years.

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Q. You made a reference to the necessity of the people deciding within the next five or ten years. Is there any way of deciding that question without voting on a constitutional amendment or the passing of one?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, yes; I think so. But it has got to come in the final analysis.

Q. Any suggestion as to how it might be made, except by a Constitutional Amendment?

THE PRESIDENT: No; we haven't got to that yet.

Q. Or a war? (*Laughter*)

THE PRESIDENT: Just qualifying the issue, that is all.

(See note to Item 64, this volume.)

66 ¶ White House Statement on Disposition of Cases Following Supreme Court Decision on N.R.A. June 2, 1935

THE Attorney General has recommended and the President has approved the dismissal of four hundred and eleven cases as a result of the Supreme Court's decision in the Schechter case. All of these cases related to the enforcement of code or similar requirements relating to violations of fair trade practices on the part of individual businesses or to failure to live up to minimum wage or hour standards.

Had it not been for the grounds stated by the Supreme Court in the Schechter case findings, these cases would have been pressed by the Government in order to obtain effective enforcement of the wage standards and fair trade practices set up as the intention of the National Recovery Act.

There are, of course, a large number of additional cases in every State in which actual court action has not yet been initiated. These also, because of the Schechter case decision, must necessarily be dropped.

67 ¶ White House Statement on Conference with Legislative Leaders after Supreme Court Decision on N.R.A. June 4, 1935

IN ORDER to meet an immediate problem relating to the Executive branch of the Government as a result of the Supreme Court decision, two steps have been discussed and agreed to by members of the Administration and leaders of Congress.

I

(a) Passage by the House of Representatives of the Senate Joint Resolution extending the life of the National Recovery Administration only to April 1, 1936. The President has made this recommendation to the Speaker, Chairman Doughton of the Ways and Means Committee and Chairman O'Connor of the Rules Committee this afternoon. This recommendation is based on the desirability of maintaining a comparatively small staff in Washington and in the more important centers of the country, in order to bring together and summarize the vast amount of information now in the possession of N.R.A., relating to the actual results of Code Administration, and to collect information in regard to the effects on industry, both on employers and employees, of the abandonment by the Government of code enforcement or requirements. These latter refer to working conditions and to fair trade practices. This information will, it is believed, be of great value to the Congress, the Administration and the country as a whole.

(b) The other reason for continuing a skeleton organization of N.R.A. is that such an organization will be useful in carrying out the proposed requirement that Government purchases and contracts be placed only with corporations or contractors who live up to certain minimum requirements.

(c) If the House of Representatives approves the Joint Resolution passed by the Senate, that portion of the Resolution which

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in effect relates to codes will, of course, be inoperative in so far as the old codes are concerned.

(d) The extension of the National Recovery Administration would mean, without question, a very large cut in the officers and employees now attached to N.R.A., but would mean the retention of a substantial number of them.

"In this connection," the President said, "I want to record my deep appreciation and that of the country for the unselfish work which thousands of men and women employed under or in conjunction with the National Recovery Administration, have done in the past two years. I extend to them my sincere thanks; and I regret that circumstances under which the retirement of many of them from Government service becomes obligatory."

It should not be assumed by any person that this proposed continuation of the National Recovery Administration, in skeletonized form, relates in any way to the enforcement of working conditions or fair trade practices formerly existing under the codes. All such requirements were eliminated by the Supreme Court decision.

II

The other measure which, like the first, must be considered as only a very partial stop-gap relates to Government contracts. Only a very small portion—probably not much over 1 per cent of the industrial production of the country—is used in Government work. Nevertheless, the President feels that even though the percentage be small, the Government should take a practical and definite step to show its good faith in maintaining the larger objectives sought by N.R.A. The proposed legislation would authorize a requirement in every Government purchase that all persons engaged in the production of the supplies or in the carrying out of the contract shall be paid in accordance with minimum wage and maximum hour standards and that no person under the age of sixteen years shall be employed. The same rule would apply to the use of Government loans or grants to States, municipalities or other local government agencies.

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It is believed that this proposed bill carries out a moral responsibility of the Federal Government and it is hoped that such action will be followed as largely as possible by private industry in every one of its branches.

This proposed measure, however, like the first, does not make much progress toward obtaining the ultimate objectives of national standards for the working population of America nor for national standards which seek to protect honorable employers against the unfair practices of less honorable competitors.

III

The Supreme Court decision has affected a number of agencies which were set up in part or in whole under the authority of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act. A careful review of the effects of the Supreme Court decision has been made.

(a) New legislation would be necessary for the continuance of the Federal Alcohol Control Administration, for the Electric Home and Farm Authority, for the Petroleum Administrative Board and the Central Statistical Board. Legislation to meet these four ends is now under consideration.

(b) Two agencies can be continued by amendments to Executive Orders: The National Emergency Council and the National Resources Board. Both of them relate to planning for and execution of work relief and can, therefore, be continued under the Work Relief Act.

(c) Three agencies have completed their work and will be terminated as heretofore planned on June 16th—the Committee on Economic Security, the Advisory Council on Economic Security and the Office of the Special Adviser to the President on Foreign Trade.

(d) Seven labor boards created under N.R.A. must terminate in their present capacity. They are: The National Labor Relations Board, the Petroleum Labor Relations Board, the Steel Labor Relations Board, the Textile Labor Relations Board, the Work Assignment Board for Cotton, the Work Assignment Board for Silk, and the Work Assignment Board for Wool.

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The President has, however, sent to the Speaker of the House of Representatives a supplemental estimate of appropriations for the Department of Labor for the coming fiscal year in the sum of \$600,000. This will enable the Secretary of Labor to conduct additional mediation and conciliation activities and thus take over a small portion of the work of the boards which are abolished. It is worth noting, however, that the authority of the Department of Labor extends only to mediation and conciliation. The Wagner Labor Bill, if enacted, would set up new tribunals which would substantially cover the functions heretofore exercised by the various boards above mentioned.

68 ¶ The Two Hundred and Tenth Press Conference (Excerpts). June 4, 1935

(Steps after N.R.A. decision — N.R.A. continued in very limited form, without codes — Disposition of sixteen other Federal agencies created under N.I.R.A. — Legislation to regulate oil production by State compacts — Guffey Coal Control Bill.)

THE PRESIDENT: I'm going to tell you about two steps—three things really—and they are all down in mimeographed form, so you won't have to take notes. I think the mimeographed form will follow substantially the one I am looking at in talking to you.

Today's announcement is confined to the following, in other words all the news that is, as one of the newspapers says, fit to print.

In order to meet the immediate problem relating to the Executive branch of the Government as a result of the Supreme Court N.R.A. decision, two steps, two immediate steps, have been discussed and agreed to. That was as a result, first of the Cabinet meeting this morning, and later on, of the discussion with various heads of agencies affected, and finally of talking it over with the three Senators and three Members of the House you saw come in here.

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The first step relates to the operation of the existing National Recovery Administration. As you know, the National Recovery Administration is still a legal agency of the Government. The Supreme Court decision merely said that the codes created under the National Recovery Administration were "out"; and therefore we are seeking an amendment by the House of Representatives to the Senate Joint Resolution which extended the life of the N.R.A. to April 1, 1936. In effect, this amendment would merely do this: it would eliminate from that Joint Resolution the language therein relating to codes, because codes, as such, are impossible under the decision laid down by the Supreme Court, first, as to the delegation of legislative power, and, second, as to interstate commerce. It would remove all reference to code-making.

It would continue, however, what remains of the useful functions of N.R.A., which have nothing to do with code-making or the maintenance of fair standards of employment or fair business practices. This action would send the Joint Resolution back to the Senate in a simplified form. In other words, it would strike out all questions of codes or the extension of N.R.A. in relation to codes; it would merely extend what might be called the corporate life of N.R.A. as an administration.

That work of N.R.A. would, between now and next April 1, cover the following: it would bring together and summarize the vast amount of information which is now in the possession of N.R.A. relating to the actual results of the codes during the past year and a half, the effects on employment, the effects on fair trade practices, the effects on prices. It is generally felt that this information is of sufficient value to reduce it to simple, understandable form, for the information of the Congress, the Administration, and the public.

The second thing that N.R.A. would continue to do would be to study the effects between now and next April 1, on industry, on employers and on employees, of the abandonment by the Government of code enforcement or code require-

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ments as was made necessary by the Supreme Court decision. In other words, they will study, in parallel columns, you might say, the results under code administrations and the results in industry without codes. That again will be of great value in determining next steps.

Furthermore, N.R.A. would, if extended as a corporate entity, as an organization, be useful in carrying out the second stage, the second step that I am coming to in two or three months. That second step is a requirement that Government purchases and Government contracts be placed only with corporations or contractors who live up to certain minimum requirements.

The N.R.A. machinery which is in existence in all the major centers of the United States can be used to see that contractors and people who supply things to the Government live up to the requirements that are proposed for Government contracts of all kinds. In other words, somebody has to see that the contract is lived up to and the N.R.A. organization can be used for that purpose.

Now, the extension of N.R.A. means that there are 5,400 people in its employ of whom, as I remember it, 4,200 are in Washington and 1,200 are in other parts of the country.

Q. 4,200?

THE PRESIDENT: Forty-two hundred in Washington, I think roughly, and 1,200 in other parts of the country.

This extension of N.R.A. of course does mean that quite a number of people will be relieved, but, on the other hand, it means the retention of a substantial number of them.

In that connection, and this seems to be a good opportunity for doing it, I want to record my deep appreciation and that of the country for the unselfish work which thousands of men and women employed under, or in conjunction with, the National Recovery Administration have done in the past two years. I want to extend to them my sincere thanks, and I regret the circumstances under which the re-

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tirement of many of them from Government service becomes obligatory.

Now, finally, I think it should not be assumed—and I say this so as to avoid raising false hopes—it should not be assumed by any person, any partnership, any corporation that this proposed legal continuation of the National Recovery Administration from June 16th next to the first of April, 1936, relates in any shape, manner or form to enforcement of working conditions or fair-trade practices that formerly existed under codes, because all such requirements were eliminated with the Supreme Court decision eliminating the codes. I don't want anybody to have false hopes that an extension of N.R.A. in this very, very limited form is intended to do anything to circumvent the decision of the Supreme Court. The only exception is that regarding Government contracts which I am coming to in number two.

This other measure which, like the first, must be considered as only a very partial stop-gap, relates to Government contracts and to the use of Government funds. Only a very small portion of industrial production in the United States, probably not over 1 percent, is used in Government work. The other 99 percent of American production is used in private work. Nevertheless, in spite of this small percentage, I feel that the Government should take a practical and definite step to show its good faith in maintaining the larger objectives sought by N.R.A.

The proposed legislation would authorize a requirement in every Government purchase, or every Government contract, and in the use of Government loans and grants to States, municipalities or other local Government agencies, that all persons engaged in the production of the supplies or in the carrying out of the contract shall be paid in accordance with minimum-wage and maximum-hour standards and that no person under the age of sixteen shall be employed in carrying out the supplies or contracts.

The bill not only carries out the moral responsibility of the

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Federal Government but points the way as an example to private industry and expresses as forcibly as anyone can, and implies, the hope that private industry in all of its branches will follow the lead of the Government.

Like the first measure relating to N.R.A., however, it does not make much progress toward obtaining the ultimate objective of national standards for the working population of the United States, or of national standards to protect honorable employers against the unfair practices of less honorable competitors.

Now, we come down to the third thing, which is not very exciting. We made a list last week of all of the different Government agencies which were affected one way or another by the decision. Some of them were set up in part, and some were set up wholly, under Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act. There were about sixteen of them. Of these sixteen, new legislation would be necessary for the continuance of four. This is all down in this mimeographed copy, so you don't have to take it all down.

The first is the Federal Alcohol Control Administration. Legislation for a new Federal Alcohol Control Administration is practically ready. Second is legislation for the Electric Home and Farm Authority, which has been selling electric gadgets on time payments in certain areas of the Tennessee Valley. That is being worked on at the present time. Third is legislation for the continuation of the Central Statistical Board. That is already in the House, ready to be reported out of committee. The Central Statistical Board, as you know, for the first time brought together all kinds of statistical information of the Government, from the different departments, and has sought to standardize its terms and to get a simple and uniform picture instead of having fifteen or twenty different pictures which seem to vary from each other because they use different terms. Probably in the long run it will save a good deal of actual appropriations by consolidation of the statistical work of the Government.

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The fourth is the Petroleum Administrative Board and that question is tied up, not with any special legislation, but with such general oil legislation as Congress decides to pass.

Those are the four whose continuance depends on new legislation.

Then you come down to two agencies which can very easily be continued and will be continued by amendments to Executive Orders. They are the National Emergency Council and the National Resources Board. One of them, the National Emergency Council, relates to the execution of work relief, and the other, the National Resources Board, relates to planning for work relief. They therefore, both of them, come under the Work Relief Act and a very slight modification of the two Executive Orders keeps them going.

Then there are three agencies which have completed their work and it was planned some time ago that they would go out of business on the sixteenth of June anyway. That was planned a month or six weeks ago. Those agencies are the Committee on Economic Security which helped to draft the Social Security Act last summer and has been continuing through the winter. We also have the Advisory Council on Economic Security which was a brother of the other one. The third is the Special Adviser to the President on Foreign Trade. The other two agencies that Mr. Peek runs, the two Export-Import Banks, continue with Mr. Peek in charge of the banks.

Then there are seven labor boards created under N.R.A. They have to terminate in their present capacity. They are: the National Labor Relations Board, the Petroleum Labor Relations Board, the Steel Labor Relations Board, the Textile Labor Relations Board, the Work Assignment Board for Cotton, the Work Assignment Board for Silk, and the Work Assignment Board for Wool.

However, I am sending to the Speaker this afternoon a supplemental estimate of appropriations for the Department of Labor for the coming fiscal year to the extent of \$600,000.

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This will enable the Secretary of Labor to conduct additional mediation and conciliation activities which in the past have been a part but only a comparatively small part of the work of these seven boards which have been put out. This will give to the Department of Labor enough money to extend the mediation and conciliation work of the Department of Labor. It does not give any additional powers to the Department of Labor in labor disputes other than for mediation and conciliation services. It is worth noting, however, that the Wagner Labor Bill, if enacted, would set up new tribunals which would substantially cover the functions heretofore exercised by the seven boards which have gone out of existence.

So that covers the sixteen agencies which were affected by the decision under Section 1 of N.R.A. . . .

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us anything about oil legislation?

THE PRESIDENT: I would just as soon tell you the situation with regard to oil legislation. It comes down to this, and it is being discussed on the Hill. Six of the States have entered into compacts and those compacts in effect are State treaties. They are filed with the Secretary of State here in Washington, and when and if they are ratified by the Congress, they give those States, under their treaty-making power with each other, the right to set a quota for all production.

The chief objection to that is that it does not cover a great many other States which also produce oil. For instance, in the East and Middle West there are a great many States like New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio and Michigan that are all oil-producing States. They produce a substantial amount of oil, mostly from what they call "strip" wells. Now, they are not included in these compacts at all. The compact-States want no legislation. They want to go ahead and see how this thing works for a year. A good many people on the Hill think that there should be some legislation which would enable the Federal Government to act in case the compact fails.

Suppose these six States made a compact and one of them

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failed to live up to it and produced 10 percent more oil than they had agreed on in the compact. Of course that would spoil the entire objective and effect of the compact; and this legislation that is now proposed would give to a new Petroleum Administration the right to step in only if the compact method fails, to set a quota and see to it that it is lived up to by all of the oil-producing States. . . .

Q. Mr. President, can you give us some light on the Guffey Coal Control Bill? Can you give us your view on that?

THE PRESIDENT: No, because if I gave it on that, I would have to give it on a lot more. However, I think I can say this on the Guffey Control Bill—that a great many people think that it is constitutional and is a way out in regard to one of the most important natural resources that we have got and, furthermore, the passage of that bill may be the solution of the employment problem in the coal industry, which seems to be in somewhat critical condition.

Q. You say a great many people believe that?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Why isn't it a solution with respect to some other industries?

THE PRESIDENT: That is another thing.

(See also note to Item 64, this volume. With respect to the continuance of agencies created under N.I.R.A. see Items 77 and 78B of this volume. For reorganization of N.R.A. see Items 72, 78, 78A, 78B of this volume. With respect to regulation of oil production by State compacts, see Item 103 of this volume and the note thereto.)

69 ¶ An Exchange of Letters Relative to Railroad Retirement Legislation. June 6, 1935

Dear Mr. President:

Pursuant to your request of May 10th, that the railroad retirement matter be discussed with Mr. Eastman and Mr. Richberg, a conference was held in Mr. Richberg's office on May 23d, at which Mr. Richberg, Mr. Eastman and Assistant Attorney General Stephens

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were present and discussed the matter. The following conclusions, which I believe are sound, were reached at that conference:

(1) It was deemed inadvisable to request the Supreme Court to grant a rehearing. On May 25th, a release was issued to the press setting forth the reasons why a rehearing was not requested, as follows: "Every phase of the case and every issue of fact and law urged by the Government, or which has been emphasized by others interested, was fully considered and discussed by the Court in both the majority and minority opinions. There have been brought to the attention of the Department no new issues which could be presented to the Court; and to the contentions made by the Government in brief and in argument it is believed that nothing could be added."

(2) In view of the sweeping character of the decision it was determined that it would be unwise to attempt to secure new legislation at this session of Congress.

(3) It was determined, however, in conformity with Mr. Eastman's suggestion, that Congress be requested to pass a resolution to create a commission to investigate the factual situation and make findings and suggestions for further legislation, if any.

You will recall that on May 17th, the Coordinator wrote you suggesting such a resolution, and on May 20th, you referred this matter to me for recommendations.

Respectfully yours,
Homer Cummings
Attorney General.

My dear Mr. Chairman:

IN CONFORMITY with my telephone conversation with you, I am enclosing herewith a letter to me from the Attorney General under date of June 4th. This letter follows conferences between the Attorney General, the Coordinator of Transportation and Mr. Donald Richberg. The Attorney General suggests that in view of the sweeping character of the Supreme Court decision in the Railroad Retirement case, it would be unwise to attempt to secure new legislation at this session of the Congress. He further suggests the passage of a Resolution by the Congress to cre-

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ate a commission to investigate the factual situation and make findings and suggestions for further legislation, if any.

Very sincerely yours,

Hon. Sam Rayburn,
Chairman, Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

NOTE: The conferences referred to in the foregoing correspondence were necessitated by the decision of the Supreme Court holding the Railroad Retirement Act invalid on May 6, 1935 (*Railroad Retirement Board vs. Alton Railroad Co.*, 295 U.S. 330; see Introduction to this volume).

The conclusions reached as a result of the conferences are set forth in the letter of the Attorney General. The idea behind Conclusion No. 3 mentioned above was that the decision of the Supreme Court might have been based upon a misapprehension as to the facts, and that if the actual facts were fully developed in findings by an impartial commission after thorough investigation, the necessary groundwork for further legislation could be provided.

I transmitted these conclusions to the Chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign

Commerce on June 6, 1935. However, the parties interested in the law were convinced that the invalidity of the Railroad Retirement Act could be cured by dividing it into two statutes, one establishing the retirement system and the Railroad Retirement Board, and the other providing for a tax upon railroads and employees. Their ideas prevailed and two Acts (Public No. 309, 74th Congress, and Public No. 400, 74th Congress) were passed and were approved by me August 29, 1935.

The statutes were tested in court; but before decision could be reached by the Supreme Court I was successful in negotiating a settlement between the railroad managements and the railroad employees in 1937, resulting in agreed legislation which superseded these two 1935 statutes. (See Items 120 of Vol. III and 232 of Vol. V.)

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70 ¶ The Two Hundred and Eleventh Press Conference (Excerpts). June 7, 1935

(Social objectives of the Administration — Voluntary codes and anti-trust laws.)

THE PRESIDENT: I hope you are all making arrangements and will let me know as soon as you can how many people are going up to Hyde Park, because Monday is the beginning of Commencement Week at Vassar and I have got to make arrangements for the boys who are going to help carry the daisy chain. *(Laughter)*

Q. (Russell Young) Steve can carry it himself.

Q. (Francis Stephenson) I think the Senator could be on the tail end of it.

Q. (Russell Young) If Steve will help me it is all right.

THE PRESIDENT: Besides that, there is no news whatsoever I know of.

Q. Mr. President, reviving an old topic, have you any comment to make on the A. F. of L. announcement yesterday regarding N.R.A.?

THE PRESIDENT: I have done no more than read the headlines in the newspapers.

Q. (Francis Stephenson) How did you come out on that? *(Laughter)*

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I read eight headlines so, of course, now I know all about it. No two of them agreed; otherwise it was all right. . . .

Q. (Mr. Cromie, editor Vancouver *Sun*, Canada) What would you say was the social objective of the Administration?

THE PRESIDENT: I am glad to see you back here. Is this going to help in the Canadian election too? *(Laughter)*

That is a difficult subject to discuss, offhand. It would take an hour or two hours at least.

The social objective, I should say, remains just what it was, which is to do what any honest Government of any country

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would do: to try to increase the security and the happiness of a larger number of people in all occupations of life and in all parts of the country; to give them more of the good things of life, to give them a greater distribution not only of wealth in the narrow terms, but of wealth in the wider terms; to give them places to go in the summertime—recreation; to give them assurance that they are not going to starve in their old age; to give honest business a chance to go ahead and make a reasonable profit, and to give everyone a chance to earn a living.

It is a little difficult to define it and I suppose this is a very offhand definition, but unless you go into a long discussion, it is hard to make it more definite. I do think, however, that we are getting somewhere toward our objective. . . .

Q. Would it be possible for us to use that definition in quotes?

THE PRESIDENT: If you will let me read it over first.

Q. That is fair enough.

THE PRESIDENT: Before you quote, I will let you use it in quotes if you will give me a chance to revise the English. Get it out for me, Kannee. (*Stenographer at Press Conferences*)

Q. The anti-trust laws immediately go into effect after the codes expire.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. The anti-trust laws will have to be enforced after the codes expire.

THE PRESIDENT: I shall have to give you a very offhand opinion on that, and that is that the expiring of the codes means also the expiring of all of the provisions of the codes and therefore you go back, of necessity, to the fundamental statute law.

In other words, do not interpret that as meaning that I am not fully in favor of voluntary codes just so long as voluntary codes do not run counter to statutory law, because we are back to the statutory law, and I am sworn to uphold statutory law.

Q. Can they agree to voluntary codes under the present anti-trust laws?

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THE PRESIDENT: Offhand, I should say yes. There are many things that can be voluntarily agreed to that do not violate any provision of the anti-trust law. . . .

Q. Under the code you had some provisions for price maintenance. Now such agreement for price making is in restraint of trade and therefore against the anti-trust laws; therefore there could not be any voluntary agreement for price making.

THE PRESIDENT: Not if it is against the anti-trust law. In other words, I cannot waive the law by any action on my part. As to a code which violates the anti-trust laws, the mere approval on the part of the President is "no go."

71 ¶ A Message to the Congress on Transportation. June 7, 1935

To the Congress:

IT is high time to deal with the Nation's transportation as a single, unified problem. For many years in the past transportation meant mainly railroads. But the rise of new forms of transportation, great expenditures of Government funds for the development of waterways and for the building of great highways and the development of invention within the railroad system itself, have enlarged the problem far beyond that conception which dominated most of our past legislation on the subject. In some instances the Government has helped a little. In others it has retarded. In still others it has given special assistance from time to time—in many instances without rhyme or reason—in all instances without considering each aspect of the problem in the light of all the others. It is small wonder that in a transportation picture so confused, the public has been inadequately served.

I have from time to time, in this session, addressed the Congress as to the necessity of various forms of Government aid and regulation of transportation. I now wish to draw together and supplement these various suggestions for the consideration of the Congress in this session.

On Transportation

In the railroad field there has been a growing recognition of the necessity for reorganization and coordination. To that end there was created the office of Federal Coordinator of Transportation. The Coordinator has considered various ways of effecting economies through the physical coordination of railway facilities and services, and, in addition, has studied and made suggestions for legislative measures covering both the railroads and other forms of transportation.

Another type of reorganization necessary for the sound and healthy recovery of our railroad system is financial. Many of our railroads are in a sound financial condition. Others are in need of reorganization. To enable necessary financial reorganizations to be effected inexpensively and promptly the Congress passed, two years ago, certain amendments to the Federal Bankruptcy Act. Shortcomings in this legislation have appeared which have prevented an efficient and extensive use of it. In order to correct these shortcomings the Coordinator has recommended certain amendments which are now before the Congress for action. Various differences of opinion as to these amendments are rapidly being adjusted and it is my hope that this legislation may be promptly enacted.

I have already recommended to the Congress my views with regard to the relations that should exist between the Federal Government and air carriers. Legislation has been introduced for the purpose of carrying out these recommendations. I am in general accord with the substance of this legislation although I still maintain, as I indicated in my message on that subject, that a separate commission need not be established to effectuate the purposes of such legislation. Air transportation should be brought into a proper relation to other forms of transportation by subjecting it to regulation by the same agency.

A bill for the regulation of highway motor carriers has passed the Senate and is now before the House of Representatives. The practical unanimity with which the Senate passed this bill convinces me of the extent to which all of the difficult adjustments

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among the interests concerned were made and I recommend its early passage by the House.

Another bill for the regulation of intercoastal and coastwise trade and of some of the inland waterway carriers prepared by the Coordinator has been introduced and is before the Congress for action. I recommend that this bill be considered by the appropriate committees and pressed to early passage. I can see no reason why the responsibility for the regulation of intercoastal, coastwise and inland waterways should not be vested in the Interstate Commerce Commission, with proper provision for the departmentalizing of the work of the Commission.

It is my hope that the Interstate Commerce Commission may, with the addition of the new duties that I have indicated, ultimately become a Federal Transportation Commission with comprehensive powers. It had been my intention to recommend this strongly to this session of the Congress, but the time remaining seems to preclude the discussions necessary for such changes. Such a reorganization should not be delayed, however, beyond the second session of the 74th Congress.

The efforts toward the coordination of the railroads and the general improvement of transportation conditions which were begun by the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act of 1933, should proceed, and I recommend that the Act and the office of Coordinator be extended for at least another year.

NOTE: Certain specific recommendations were made by me in this message. Taking them up in order:

1. That the amendments to the Federal Bankruptcy Act recommended by the Federal Coordinator of Transportation be promptly enacted. These amendments were adopted and were approved by me August 27, 1935 (Pub. No. 381, 74th Congress; see Item 47, Vol. II).
2. That air transportation be

brought into a proper relation to other forms of transportation by subjecting it to regulation by the same agency. Such legislation has been before the Congress continually since that time, but has not been enacted. At the 1937 session there were favorable reports by the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce and the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Com-

Powers of Administrator of Public Works

merce; and the bills which they recommended are now pending in the Senate and House.

3. That a bill for the regulation of highway motor carriers be passed. It was passed and was approved on August 9, 1935. (Motor Carrier Act of 1935. See Item 104, this volume and Item 47, Vol. II.)
4. That a bill for the regulation of water carriers by the Interstate Commerce Commission be passed. At that session such a bill was reported by the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce. It never came to a final vote in the Senate, and

in the House it did not get out of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Hearings on a similar bill were held by the latter committee at the 1937 session, but nothing further has happened.

5. That the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act of 1933 and the office of Coordinator be extended for at least another year. There was such an extension for a single year by Joint Resolution of Congress approved June 14, 1935, but Part I of the said Emergency Act and the office of Coordinator expired on June 16, 1936.

72 ¶ The Powers of the Administrator of Public Works under N.I.R.A. Are Continued. Executive Order No. 7064. June 7, 1935

PURSUANT to the authority vested in me by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, approved April 8, 1935 (Public Resolution No. 11, 74th Congress), I hereby authorize the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, under the Federal Emergency Administrator of Public Works:

- (a) to continue after June 16, 1935, to perform all of the functions which it was authorized to perform prior to June 16, 1935, under Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act, approved June 16, 1933 (48 Stat. 200);
- (b) subject to the rules and regulations heretofore and hereafter prescribed by the President to carry out the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, approved April 8, 1935, to perform the following functions under said Act:

The National Resources Committee

- (1) make loans or grants, or both, for projects of States, territories, possessions, including subdivisions and agencies thereof, municipalities and the District of Columbia, and self-liquidating projects of public bodies thereof, where, in the determination of the President, not less than twenty-five per centum of the loan or the grant, or the aggregate thereof, is to be expended for work under each particular project;
- (2) carry out projects for slum-clearance or low-cost housing, or both. . . .

In the performance of the functions and duties herein prescribed . . . I hereby authorize the Administrator to accept and utilize such voluntary and uncompensated services and, with the consent of the State, such State and local officers and employees, and appoint, without regard to the provisions of the civil service laws, such officers and employees, as may be necessary, prescribe their duties and responsibilities and, without regard to the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, fix their compensation: *Provided*, That in so far as practicable, the persons employed shall be selected from those receiving relief. . . .

73 ¶ The National Resources Committee Is Created. Executive Order No. 7065. June 7, 1935

BY VIRTUE of and pursuant to the authority vested in me under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, approved April 8, 1935, 49 Stat. 115, and to provide a means of obtaining information essential to a wise employment of the emergency appropriation made by said Act, I hereby establish an agency within the Government to be known as the National Resources Committee, consisting of the Secretary of the Interior (Chairman), the Secretary of War, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Labor, the Federal Emergency Relief Administrator, Frederic A. Delano, Charles E. Merriam,

The National Resources Committee

and Wesley C. Mitchell, who shall serve as members without compensation.

A committee advisory thereto, consisting of Frederic A. Delano (Chairman), Charles E. Merriam, and Wesley C. Mitchell, is hereby constituted, to which advisory committee members may be added from time to time by the President. The compensation of the members of the advisory committee shall be fixed by the President.

I hereby prescribe the functions and duties of the National Resources Committee as follows:

- (a) To collect, prepare and make available to the President, with recommendations, such plans, data and information as may be helpful to a planned development and use of land, water, and other national resources, and such related subjects as may be referred to it by the President.
- (b) To consult and cooperate with agencies of the Federal Government, with the States and municipalities or agencies thereof, and with any public or private planning or research agencies or institutions, in carrying out any of its duties and functions.
- (c) To receive and record all proposed Federal projects involving the acquisition of land (including transfer of land jurisdiction) and land research projects, and in an advisory capacity to provide the agencies concerned with such information or data as may be pertinent to the projects. All executive agencies shall notify the National Resources Committee of such projects as they develop, before major field activities are undertaken.

In the performance of such duties and functions and within such amounts as may be allocated by the President . . . I hereby authorize the said committee to accept and utilize such voluntary and uncompensated services and, with the consent of the State, such State and local officers and employees, and appoint without regard to the provisions of the civil service laws, such officers and employees as may be necessary, prescribe their duties and re-

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sponsibilities and, without regard to the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, fix their compensation: *Provided*, That in so far as practicable, the persons employed under the authority of this Executive Order shall be selected from those receiving relief.

The National Resources Board and the advisory committee established by Executive Order No. 6777, dated June 30, 1934, are hereby abolished, and all personnel, property, records, rights, etc., of said Board are hereby transferred to said National Resources Committee.

There is hereby transferred to the National Resources Committee the unexpended balance of all moneys heretofore made available for expenditure by the National Resources Board, which moneys shall be available for discharge of obligations lawfully incurred by said Board; and for the expenses of the National Resources Committee hereunder funds will be hereafter allocated to said Committee from the appropriation made by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935.

This Executive Order shall take effect at the close of business on June 15, 1935.

NOTE: The Committee organized by the foregoing Executive Order was the successor of the National Planning Board which had been appointed by the Administrator of Public Works on July 20, 1933, and the National Resources Board which was established by Executive Order No. 6777 on June 30, 1934 (see Item 124, Vol. III). The desirability and necessity for planning for the development of land, water and other national resources had been discussed by me on several occasions. As Governor I had recommended the initiation of a land-use survey of the State of New York, under which each ten-acre plot of land was to be surveyed with the

view of determining the most economical use to which it could be put.

It is not only necessary that a plan be formulated for the conservation and development of natural and human resources; it is necessary also that there be a continuous planning agency—one which is always functioning—with facilities to consider new inventions and new discoveries and new changes and new conditions.

The National Resources Committee is the agency we set up for this work of continuous planning.

The Secretary of the Interior was designated as Chairman, to serve with the Secretaries of War, Agri-

The National Resources Committee

culture, Commerce, Labor, the Administrator of Emergency Relief, and Mr. Frederic A. Delano, Dr. Charles E. Merriam and Dr. Wesley C. Mitchell. After Dr. Mitchell's resignation, December 1, 1935, Mr. Henry S. Dennison and Mr. Beardsley Ruml served with Mr. Delano and Dr. Merriam on an advisory committee which has acted as an executive or steering committee for the planning organization, of which Mr. Charles W. Eliot 2nd acted as Executive Officer.

The essence of the kind of planning with which the National Resources Committee is charged is advisory. Its function is to conduct investigations and surveys, make reports and lay plans before the various responsible officials in State, city and Federal Governments. The decisions with respect to these plans and the execution of the plans are left to the officials themselves.

The work of the Committee has been of two major types: first, to assist and stimulate local and State planning boards to develop plans and policies within their own jurisdictions; and second, to develop plans in a strictly advisory capacity for Federal agencies and to act as a correlating and coordinating planning agency for them.

The Committee has been cooperating in (1) urban planning, (2) county planning, (3) district planning and (4) State and regional planning.

It has cooperated with many of the planning boards that have been

organized in 1700 towns and cities. City planning boards have become more or less familiar in American life during the last twenty-five or thirty years. In more recent years, partly because of the interest in soil conservation and partly because of the impetus which has come from State planning agencies, county planning boards have also come into existence particularly in the Northwestern States. There are now upward of four hundred of them, and they indicate the growth of the faith in planning by the rural population of the country.

In a few States several county planning boards have been grouped together into what have been called "district" planning agencies.

In 1933 the suggestion was made by the National Planning Board (see Item 124, Vol. III) to the Governors of the several States, of the desirability of following the example of the States of New York and Wisconsin and a few other commonwealths in the establishment of State planning agencies. The suggestion was received with enthusiasm. Within a year and a half, thirty-two State Legislatures passed acts establishing or continuing planning agencies; and today there are forty-six of these State planning boards (thirty-eight by legislative action) with whom the National Resources Committee cooperates.

To meet various interstate problems the National Resources Committee has endeavored to aid and encourage interstate planning move-

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ments—regional planning. Real progress has been made by them on such problems as flood control, reclamation, power development, etc., in the Pacific Northwest, New England, the St. Louis Region, the Ohio Valley, the Upper Rio Grande Valley; and extensive reports of their findings and recommendations have been made.

In performing its other main function—national planning—the Committee has collected and is collecting into one place all the facts upon which planning can be based—facts about stream flow and flood control, about soils, about rainfall, forests, wild life, recreation needs, transportation, and mineral resources.

On the basis of such information a major activity of the Committee has been the advance planning of public works, and the formulation of a public works policy designed to fit cycles of business depressions and booms. The experience of P.W.A. in 1933 showed the effects of lack of planning, of engineering data and of programs for public works, when public works are adopted as a means of providing employment.

There had already been several reports made by Federal agencies in connection with planning of water resources involving the problems of water conservation and development.

The first report prepared by the President's Committee on Water Flow was transmitted by me to the Congress on June 4, 1934 (see Item

99, Vol. III). The report of the Mississippi Valley Committee of the Public Works Administration, on water problems involved in the Mississippi drainage system, was included in the report transmitted by me to the Congress on January 24, 1935 (see Item 8, this volume). The Mississippi Valley Committee later became the Water Planning Committee of the National Resources Board. This report emphasized the necessity of an inventory of water resources; and brought together extensive data on rainfall, run-off, stream flow, underground waters, etc.

When the National Resources Committee was organized in June, 1935, a Water Resources Committee was set up as a subsidiary group, and in December, 1936, it submitted a comprehensive report entitled "Drainage Basin Problems and Programs," outlining a sound water policy to be followed.

A study of our water resources involves a study of the various different uses and purposes of water. It includes a study of flood control and of the preservation and use of water for the benefit of man—water supply, navigation, power, irrigation. The Committee's report on drainage basin problems and programs put together for the first time in history a national water development and control plan, and a group of projects of investigation and construction which form a sound beginning for a national program, subject however to subse-

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quent revision in the light of changing conditions and new factual information. A study of our water resources further requires a search for basic information and data involving precipitation, snow, stream flow, ground water levels, evaporation, water quality and other hydrologic data. It involves the formulation of a national flood-control policy, the question of water pollution, the construction of power enterprises and control of beach erosion.

The report in December, 1936, was the first comprehensive statement of water problems, programs and projects for the United States as a whole, through the joint efforts of Federal, State, and local agencies, official and non-official.

Another subcommittee of the Water Committee has prepared a full report on water pollution.

The problem of land planning involves the use and conservation of soil, forests, recreation facilities and wild life. The study of our land resources includes a study of their best use, which depends upon physical character, soil, climate, rainfall and other natural conditions. It involves a determination as to whether certain lands are suitable for crops, grazing, pasture, forestry, wild-life refuges, highways or other uses. It involves the consideration of the preservation of the forests and the continuation of their many uses, the process of restoring cut-over land and the reforestation of abandoned agricultural land, the

use of forest crops, the use of forests for natural water sheds to prevent floods and erosion, to equalize stream flow, to provide a constant timber supply, to prevent or minimize forest fires, to preserve the recreation, game and wild-life facilities.

The study of land involves also the study of how best to use the grazing lands and pasture lands of the Nation on which native forage is produced; how best to restore the grazing resources which had been depleted by over-use and over-stocking. It requires a consideration of the whole question of soil erosion and soil conservation. It involves a study of the reclamation of wet lands by drainage and arid lands by irrigation. Such a study must consider the whole question of the use of land by farm tenants rather than by farm owners who have the necessary responsibility of ownership and preservation of the soil. It must seek the protection and propagation of wild life and the proper use of land as recreation ground for the Nation.

These subjects are among those which have been or will be considered and reported upon by the National Resources Committee. The extensive data about our land problems, which have been discovered and disclosed by various Federal or State and private organizations, have all been collected and correlated as the basis for new lines of policy.

Paroled Kidnapping Suspects

The Committee has devoted its attention to the mineral resources of the country. In April, 1934, I appointed a Planning Committee for Mineral Policy, which became the Mineral Resources Section of the Board when the National Resources Board was organized. A study of the mineral resources must be such as to lead to a plan of conservation, not to hoard but to make orderly and efficient use of minerals in the interest of national welfare, both in war and peace. Detailed reports along these lines have been submitted.

The Committee has made studies of the consumption habits of our population—an investigation as to how people spend their money. Exact information of what people need can help us materially to fit our production to our demands.

The Committee also has made a survey of the science resources of

the Nation—natural science, social science and education—and it has made a report of technological trends and national policy.

The Committee has called attention to the fact that “we live in a rapidly changing world where plans must be constantly revised, reworked and reoriented. We can set up social objectives but we must not cling to outmoded methods of procedure.” In other words, it has pointed out the impossibility of a blueprint as a national plan.

Planning is essential for the benefit of human beings. Accordingly, the question of population problems has also been considered in all of the Committee’s studies and reports—problems of numbers, health, education—in brief the whole subject of human resources, in much the same fashion as its reports have discussed natural resources.

74 ¶ The Department of Justice Is Requested to Investigate Prior Paroled Kidnapping Suspects. June 10, 1935

NEWSPAPERS report long criminal record in case of two men definitely suspected of Weyerhaeuser kidnapping, including not only arrests and convictions but also paroles. Every decent citizen is interested in humane parole systems, which seek rehabilitation of offenders, but at the same time we should seek to prevent abuses of parole, especially in cases of habitual criminals. Therefore I am glad that you are having a special study made of these two cases, investigating all facts relating to their previous records

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in every jurisdiction where they have been apprehended or paroled.

Hon. Homer S. Cummings,
Washington, D. C.

75 ¶ Address to the Graduating Class at West Point. June 12, 1935

Mr. Secretary, General MacArthur, General Connor, Gentlemen of the Class of 1935:

AS ONE who was born and reared within a few miles of West Point, I have always been familiar with the long and glorious record of the United States Military Academy; and I have always thought of the officers and cadets stationed here as my friends and neighbors.

I wish I could have been here to attend in person the brilliant ceremonies, reviews and the entertainments of the past few days. I have attended some of them in bygone years.

At this moment we come to the culmination—an event which marks not only the close of four years of preparation for a great career, but also the induction into the Army of the United States of its annual infusion of new blood whereby our military leadership is kept young, forward-looking and virile.

This Academy, with its sister school of Annapolis, is the personification of democracy in the equality of opportunity they afford, uninfluenced by prior social position or economic standing. These schools nurture patriotism and devotion to country. They teach that honor, integrity and the faithful performance of duty are to be valued above all personal advantage or advancement. Their success is written in the long and brilliant record of service which their graduates have rendered to the Nation. It is true that in your curriculum you have been studying a profession—one in which the need of specialization has greatly increased in recent years. But that is true of every other profession. The de-

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velopment of modern civilization calls, of necessity, for specialization.

Yet, with specialization it is essential that those who enter upon a profession, civilian or military, must eternally keep before their eyes the practical relationship of their own profession to the rights, the hopes and the needs of the whole body of citizens who make up the Nation. One of the most difficult tasks of government today is to avoid the aggrandizement of any one group and to keep the main objective of the general good, clear and unimpaired.

The captain of a company will fail if in thinking only of his own company he forgets the relationship of his company to the company on his right and the company on his left—the relationship of his company to the regiment as a whole. The successful commander of an army must give consideration to all of the units which make up his army and in addition must of necessity remember the existence, the condition and the ultimate strength of his reserves and of the civilian population which is serving the same cause behind the lines.

A sense of proportion is essential to the effective attainment of any great objective. I shall always remember a day in the summer of 1918 when I visited the headquarters of General Foch, the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied and Associated Armies. With a single aide I motored out of Paris on a road that had no markers, and we came to a delightful old château far behind the lines and lying within its little walled park in the most peaceful, bucolic surroundings you can imagine. One sentry was at the gate; within the park, a few chickens and a couple of cows; at the door, nobody. That was headquarters of all the armies in France. In answer to our ring, the door was opened by a very young-looking captain and in a moment we found ourselves in the presence of General Foch, who was sitting in a comfortable chair in a large drawing room, reading a French novel. I spent over an hour with the General and I discovered that his entire staff consisted of half a dozen officers and perhaps a dozen enlisted men.

Address at West Point

While I was there a young lieutenant from British headquarters came in bearing the daily report from Marshal Haig. That report was written in longhand on one side of a sheet of note paper. It said in effect: "My dear General: No advances or retirements of major importance today. Reserves increased 1,500 men since yesterday. They now total 275,000. Very sincerely yours, Haig."

About ten minutes later one of our own lieutenants came in from General Pershing's headquarters bearing a single note written on one page, making essentially a similar report to General Foch.

I marveled at the simplicity of it all, at the simplicity of his headquarters and at the apparent lack of detail which he received from the generals in command of the various armies. Foch said to me, "If I concerned myself with details, I could not win the war. I can consider only major advances or major retirements. The knowledge of movements of two or three kilometers here or there would confuse me by diverting my attention from the great objective. Only major results and major strategy concern the major objectives of a commander-in-chief. Most especially am I concerned with the reserve power of men, of guns, of ammunition and of supplies, and with that I have to give constant and necessary consideration to what the people of France, the people of England and the people of the United States are doing and can do to keep the Allied Armies in a position to make victory a certainty."

I think that little story has a good deal of application to anybody who is in a position of command, great or small. You who are about to become officers of the highly efficient Regular Army of the United States will recognize that you are an integral part not only of that Army, but also of the citizenship of the United States. As a Nation, we have been very fortunate in a geographic isolation which in itself has partially protected our boundless resources. To that happy circumstance has been added the priceless blessing of friendship with our near neighbors.

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It is in full appreciation of this advantageous position and in full appreciation of our own devotion to the cause of peace that our Nation's defensive system has always reflected the single purpose that those words, "defensive system," imply. We maintain an army to promote tranquillity and to secure us from aggression, but it is so created and so modest in proportion to the size of the population of the Nation as to furnish proof that no threat or menace to the rights of others is even remotely considered. On some occasions in our history we have reduced our army to a level unjustified by a due regard for our own safety. It was in the conviction that we had once more drifted too far in that direction that I have recently approved Acts of the Congress to accomplish a partial restoration of the Army's enlisted strength, and increasing the enrollment of cadets in the United States Military Academy.

The greatest need of the world today is the assurance of permanent peace—an assurance based on mutual understanding and mutual regard. During your careers you will go to many stations at home and abroad, enjoying unusual opportunities to mingle with our people and with other people, to learn their points of view and to appreciate their aspirations. If you strive at all times to promote friendship and to discourage suspicion, to teach respect for the rights of others and to decry aggression, to oppose intolerance with a spirit of mutual helpfulness—then indeed your services will be of full value to your Government, and a source of satisfaction to yourselves. A sympathetic understanding of fellow men has ever been the hallmark of a leader. Last, but by no means least, you will be worthy of the illustrious traditions of West Point.

And so, gentlemen, personally, I extend to each and every one of you who graduate today my congratulations and best wishes. As Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States I tell you that I am proud of you and wish you Godspeed.

76 ¶ The National Emergency Council Is Re-established. Executive Order No. 7073.

June 13, 1935

WHEREAS it is deemed necessary in carrying out the provisions of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, approved April 8, 1935 (Public Res. No. 11, 74th Cong.), that the National Emergency Council, as heretofore established and now constituted, shall continue to exist and function:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me under the said Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, I hereby reestablish the National Emergency Council, as now constituted, as an agency within the Government.

I hereby prescribe as the duties and functions of the National Emergency Council, the duties and functions which the existing National Emergency Council is authorized to perform not inconsistent with the provisions of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, and such additional duties and functions as may from time to time be assigned to it by the President in carrying out the provisions of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935. All members of the National Emergency Council holding other positions in the Government shall serve thereon without additional compensation.

In the performance of such duties and functions . . . the Executive Director of the National Emergency Council is hereby authorized to accept and utilize such voluntary and uncompensated services and, with the consent of the State, to utilize such State and local officers and employees, and to appoint, without regard to the civil-service laws, such officers and employees as may be necessary, prescribe their duties and responsibilities, and, without regard to the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, fix the compensation of any officers and employees so appointed: *Provided*, That in so far as practicable, the persons employed shall be selected from those receiving relief. . . .

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This order will take effect at the close of business June 15, 1935.

NOTE: The foregoing Order re-established the National Emergency Council as a general coordinating and efficiency organization for the various agencies of the Government (see Vol. II, Items 94, 163, 185A; Vol. III, Item 172).

The National Emergency Council's duties were prescribed by the President, and rules and regulations necessary to carry out such duties were prescribed by the Executive Director, subject to the approval of the President.

There was a State Director for the National Emergency Council in forty-seven of the States and in Alaska. They served to establish closer coordination and greater efficiency in the operations of the various Federal and State agencies.

The heads of the various Federal agencies attended coordination meetings arranged by the National Emergency Council and by State directors in order to establish closer relationship. For example, see speech made by me to the meeting of the New Jersey agencies called together by the State Director, printed as Item 7 of Volume V.

Periodic reports of the progress

of the works program were made by the State directors. Close cooperation with State Legislatures enabled the State directors to supplement Federal activities with necessary legislation by the respective States. Through the State directors the central agency was kept in constant touch with all pending State legislation. The State directors were also of great service to the central emergency relief agencies in times of disaster, such as floods, drought and tornadoes.

The National Emergency Council conducted necessary information surveys, and published the Government manual of information.

The Division of Applications and Information was established as a branch of the National Emergency Council by Executive Order No. 7034, dated May 6, 1935 (see Item 54 of this volume). This Division was set up as a first step in administering the \$4,800,000,000 work relief program. Its prime purpose was to receive all suggested plans for the useful expenditure of work relief funds and to pass upon them as the first agency.

77 ¶ The National Labor Relations Board Is Reestablished. Executive Order No. 7074.

June 15, 1935

BY VIRTUE of and pursuant to the authority vested in me under Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act (48 Stat. 195), as amended and continued by Senate Joint Resolution No. 113, approved June 14, 1935, and in order to effectuate the policy of said Title, it is hereby ordered:

1. The National Labor Relations Board created under Executive Order No. 6763 of June 29, 1934, is hereby reestablished and continued in existence until July 1, 1935, with its existing personnel and employees at their present grade and salaries.

2. The said National Labor Relations Board shall exercise the powers and functions and be charged with the duties prescribed in Executive Order No. 6763 of June 29, 1934, in so far as such powers, functions, and duties are authorized under the National Industrial Recovery Act as amended and continued by the said Senate Joint Resolution No. 113. . . .

NOTE: In order to remove any doubt as to whether the Supreme Court decision declaring the National Industrial Recovery Act unconstitutional affected the jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board, the foregoing Executive Order was issued, reestablishing it and fixing its functions and duties under the Senate Resolution extending a skeleton N.R.A. (see Item 78A, this volume).

By Executive Orders dated June

29, 1935, numbers 7089, 7090, 7091, its existence and that of the National Steel Labor Relations Board and the Textile Labor Relations Board were further extended to August 1, 1935. Thereafter by Executive Order 7121 the National Labor Relations Board was extended to September 1, 1935. On August 24, 1935, the Board set up by the National Labor Relations Act was created. (See Item 90, this volume.)

78 ¶ White House Statement on Executive Orders Continuing a Reorganized and Restricted N.R.A. June 15, 1935

THE administration of the amended Act will proceed as rapidly as possible to adjust activities and personnel to conform to present limited objectives.

So long, however, as there is a possibility of further legislation it will be desirable to maintain the general structure of the recovery administration in Washington and in field offices, and to retain those essential members of a trained personnel who can be usefully employed. There will be lasting values in a careful appraisal of the two-year accomplishments of the N.R.A. and in preserving for permanent use the records of that experience. This can be done most efficiently and economically by those heretofore engaged in the work of codification.

A steady but gradual reduction of personnel is, therefore, a sound public policy which will also avoid imposing undue hardships on faithful public employees who can continue to render a service of exceptional value to the Government. It will be necessary, of course, to retain a sufficient field force to report on the effects of code abolition. This will include information covering changes in labor and fair practice standards.

78A ¶ N.R.A. Is Reorganized after the Supreme Court Decision. Executive Order No. 7075. June 15, 1935

BY VIRTUE of and pursuant to the authority vested in me by Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act (48 Stat. 195), as amended by Senate Joint Resolution No. 113, approved June 14, 1935, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. The National Industrial Recovery Board created by Executive Order No. 6859 of September 27, 1934, is hereby terminated,

N.R.A. Is Reorganized

and to provide for the continuing administration of the provisions of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act there is hereby created the office of Administrator of the National Recovery Administration.

2. The Administrator of the National Recovery Administration shall administer the provisions of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act as amended by Senate Joint Resolution No. 113, approved June 14, 1935, and may exercise all of those powers heretofore conferred by Executive Order upon the National Industrial Recovery Board, subject to the limitations upon such powers contained in the said Senate Joint Resolution No. 113, and subject also to the further provisions of this Executive Order. . . . I hereby appoint James L. O'Neill as Acting Administrator of the National Recovery Administration.

3. For the further administration of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act as amended, there is hereby established the Division of Review. The Division of Review shall assemble, analyze, and report upon the statistical information and records of experience of the operations of the various trades and industries heretofore subject to codes of fair competition, shall study the effects of such codes upon trade, industrial and labor conditions in general, and other related matters, shall make available for the protection and promotion of the public interest an adequate review of the effects of the administration of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and the principles and policies put into effect thereunder, and shall otherwise aid the President in carrying out his functions under the said Title. I hereby appoint Leon C. Marshall Director of the Division of Review.

4. There is hereby established the Division of Business Cooperation, the function and purpose of which shall be to aid in the voluntary maintenance by trade and industrial groups of standards of fair competition, in the elimination of unfair competition in the employment of labor or in trade practices, and in maintaining sources of information and records of experience useful in the work of the Division of Review, and to otherwise assist in effectuating, so far as possible, the policies of the Na-

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tional Industrial Recovery Act as amended. I hereby appoint Prentiss L. Coonley Director of the Division of Business Cooperation.

5. The Administrator . . . shall proceed forthwith to reduce as rapidly as possible the number of persons now employed in the administration of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act to the number necessary to perform the duties of such Administration as herein, or hereafter, prescribed. . . . I hereby appoint George L. Berry Assistant to the Administrator of the National Recovery Administration to represent labor. . . .

7. All orders and regulations heretofore issued concerning the administration of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act are hereby modified to the extent necessary to make this order fully effective.

NOTE: After the Supreme Court in the Schechter case invalidated the National Industrial Recovery Act on May 27, 1935, a new statute was promptly enacted by the Congress which provided for the continuation of a skeleton N.R.A. for a brief period (Pub. Res. No. 26, 49 Stat. 375, June 14, 1935).

Under this new statute a new form of administration was set up by the foregoing Executive Order, to cope with three principal problems: first, the problem of liquidating the staff of the N.R.A. in an

orderly fashion, in which emphasis would be put upon their transfer, so far as possible, to other Government agencies; second, the establishment of a Division of Review to make a scholarly survey of the history of the N.R.A. and to publish a report thereon; and third, the establishment of a Division of Business Cooperation which was to explore the possibility of achieving the substance of the N.R.A. through voluntary agreements among business men within the limitations of the anti-trust laws.

78B ¶ The Activities of N.R.A. Remaining after the Supreme Court Decision Are Extended. Executive Order No. 7076. June 15, 1935

WHEREAS Senate Joint Resolution No. 113, approved June 14, 1935, extends until April 1, 1936, the provisions of Title I of the

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National Industrial Recovery Act as amended by said Joint Resolution, and

WHEREAS the President has heretofore issued various Executive Orders under and pursuant to the authority conferred upon him by the provisions of the said Title I, the effective period of which Executive Orders is limited directly by the said orders or by the said Title I to June 16, 1935, and

WHEREAS it is necessary and desirable to maintain the continuity of the agencies established, the requirements imposed, and the other activities heretofore authorized by such Executive Orders so far as consistent with the provisions of the said Title I as amended:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of and pursuant to the authority vested in me by Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act (48 Stat. 195) as amended and extended by Senate Joint Resolution No. 113 approved June 14, 1935, it is hereby ordered that all existing Executive Orders heretofore issued under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act be, and they are, hereby amended so as to continue them in effect and to extend their operation, and also to extend the authority and activities of any agency created thereunder until April 1, 1936, so far as consistent with the provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act as amended and extended, subject, however, to any limitation, modification, or cancellation the President may hereafter make by Executive Order: *Provided*, however, that this order shall not be construed as an exercise by the President of any authority, or as authorizing any person or agency acting under authority conferred by the President, to approve or prescribe codes of fair competition, to provide for the enforcement of such codes, or to take any other action not authorized by the provisions of the said Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act as amended.

NOTE: Since the original National Industrial Recovery Act was no longer law, and had been replaced by an amendatory act, a technical question arose as to whether the various agencies created and the various rules, regulations and orders issued under the old Act, for

which there was still substantial need, remained in effect. To resolve this technical difficulty, the foregoing Executive Order was issued, specifically reaffirming their effect within the limitations of the Act as amended. See also, in this connection, Item 68, this volume.

79 ¶ Informal Extemporaneous Remarks to State Works Progress Administrators.

June 17, 1935

WE ARE all engaged in a common task and I think we can be quite informal in talking about it. There are only one or two points I want to mention. The first, of course, relates to the broad objective, what might be called the main objective, of this program in which we are engaged. And it does not require very difficult arithmetic for the average layman to understand it.

We have to divide three and a half million men into four billion dollars. Almost anybody can understand that. In other words, Congress has given us four billion dollars. The objective is to put three and a half million men to work during the coming fiscal year.

That means a great many heartaches for people who have very expensive projects. They might just as well recognize that. You are going to have a great many difficulties and heartburnings because you will have to turn down a lot of splendid projects all over the United States. I assure you, however, that you are not going to have any more difficult time than I am having already from people all over the country who have projects that are very worthy—projects that just do not fall within the arithmetic of the situation.

Therefore, I feel it is incumbent on us not only to explain this problem of arithmetic to the people who have these projects but also to explain it to the people as a whole, in every State of the country, so that they will understand why it is necessary, in attaining this objective of ours, to say “No” to requests that do not fall within the arithmetic.

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In other words, outside of a handful of what might be called strictly Federal projects such as the Bonneville and the Fort Peck Dams, the deepening of the Mississippi and the channel in the Upper Missouri, and a few others of that kind which total only a very small portion of the four billion dollars, practically all the rest of the money must be spent, on the average, at the rate of somewhere between eleven hundred dollars and twelve hundred dollars per man. This must of necessity include everything—not only the amount we pay the men themselves but also the amount we pay for the materials as well as the overhead.

That is your job and ours. I should say probably it was even more your job than ours, because each one of you knows the possibilities within your own State better than we can know them here in Washington. We must look to you and we are going to look to you for advice. The chances are we will take it. In regard to the spending of this allotted money, the responsibility is going to be very, very largely on you to see that the money goes around and accomplishes the objective given us as a mandate by the Congress of the United States—that is to put all the people on the relief rolls to work within the coming year.

We want to get rid of the dole. We believe that the dole is destructive of all that is best in our citizenship and we want to make people feel that they are no longer in the bread line—no longer getting things for nothing. We want them to feel that they are getting work, even though the amount they get in pay for their work is somewhat below, in most cases, what they would be able to earn in private jobs.

That brings up the second point. We want, in so far as possible, to have every relief administrator make every effort to get the unemployed into private industry, even if it means slowing down or stopping some of the jobs we have undertaken. We should not hesitate for one single moment to stop a certain number of projects if people are taken back into private industry. There will be a certain number of our works that can be closed down temporarily or stopped just where they are without very much loss. This whole thing will depend very largely upon the

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close cooperation with local authorities everywhere — Governors, mayors, county officials, and various State agencies. It is a Federal administrative program and, of course, the Federal Government is ultimately responsible. You are responsible because you represent the Federal Government; and yet at the same time we cannot conduct it successfully unless we get cooperation and joint effort on the part of all the localities.

The third point I make is that we have to be extremely careful not to make any kind of discrimination. We cannot discriminate in any of the work we are conducting either because of race or religion or politics. Politics, so far as we are concerned, is out. If anybody asks you to discriminate because of politics you can tell them that the President of the United States gave direct orders that there is not to be any such discrimination.

That applies both ways. It means, we cannot hurt our enemies or help our friends. We have to and will treat them all exactly alike. In carrying out this work, consider it purely and solely from a human point of view. Do everything you can to prevent the use of political considerations, one way or the other.

Finally, in regard to the projects themselves, we want them to be as useful as we can make them. We have all seen the work that was done in a very great hurry in the late fall and winter of 1933-34. Of course, a lot of that was thrown together. It was made work. It was invented work. A great many municipalities and counties had only a week or two weeks to decide what they had to do. They did the best they could. The extraordinary thing is that in view of the shortness of time so much of that work was actually useful. Today we have all that experience behind us.

This morning I saw a delegation from a certain State — Senators and Congressmen — who were most anxious to have a dam built. They said this dam had the approval of the Congressional Committees from six States. I said "Fine; what will be the cost per man employed?" There wasn't one of them who could answer that question. They were for the dam and it is a grand project. But actually the first year's work on the dam would cost, if done

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in the regular engineering way, about three thousand to thirty-five hundred dollars per man employed. I said to this delegation:

"I am all for this dam; I think it is a very important project on a very important river in the United States. It is going to prevent floods and so forth, but, in order to do it, I would have to increase the allotment to your particular State by ten or fifteen million dollars. Are you willing to ask me to take ten or fifteen million dollars away from the other forty-seven States of the Union and give it to your State?" They said: "No, we can't ask that."

That is a very simple answer to people who would ask you in your several States to exceed the allotment. We have only so much money and if anybody gets an excess allotment it means that the other fellow of necessity will have to pay the bill. That is why I stress the need of making clear to the people in your own States the common objective—the Congressional intent, your intent and mine—to put these unemployed to work during the coming year for a given sum of money. This sum is not elastic but definite, a fixed appropriation of the Congress.

We will give you 100 percent cooperation; and on your shoulders rests not only a great responsibility but also, I think, a very splendid opportunity to do a fine service for this country.

We all hope there is going to be a very definite and distinct pickup all over the United States. We are working slowly but very surely toward the elimination of the major unemployment problem we have had during these past few years. Of course, we always shall have a certain number of unemployed with us, but nothing like the present scale, we hope. And, this year, I believe, is going to be the beginning of the picking up of the greater part of this unemployment slack from which we have been suffering.

It is very fine to see you. Bless you all. I hope you go to it, with your coats off, and that the dirt will begin to fly very soon.

80 ¶ A Request for Information on Labor Standards and Trade Practice Following the Abolition of Codes. June 18, 1935

My dear Mr. O'Neill:

IN LINE with our recent discussion, I am requesting you to set up in the Division of Business Cooperation a section devoted to accumulating, checking and reporting accurate information concerning the extent to which changes occur in the maintenance of labor standards or fair practice provisions of codes of fair competition, following the abolition of such codes.

It is of primary importance that this work should be done very carefully and under the supervision of an impartial committee, which might be constituted as follows: An impartial chairman, a representative of management and a representative of labor, and a member designated by the Department of Commerce and another by the Department of Labor. Through such a committee this work may be coordinated with the informational services of the Departments of Commerce and Labor, and with similar services maintained by organizations of employers or employees.

Information should be collected through field offices and other available sources under such supervision that reports sent to Washington can be checked, compiled and put in form for appropriate publication with assurance that they are accurate and as comprehensive as possible. It should be emphasized that the purposes of this work are to gather and publish reliable information and to counteract any propaganda from private sources which may be designed to promote a special interest.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable James L. O'Neill,
Acting Administrator,
National Recovery Administration,
Washington, D. C.

The Issuance of Commemorative Coins

NOTE: In many ways the chief function of N.R.A., which had been extended in skeleton form for a period of ten months from June 16, 1935 (see Item 78A, this volume), after the declaration by the Supreme Court of the invalidity of its code-making powers, was to take stock of what had gone before and to study possibilities for further development.

There was considerable fear that abrupt termination of the codes would result in a serious and rapid

decline in labor standards and fair business practices throughout the country. To check upon this problem N.R.A. was asked to institute a survey of wage and hour conditions and fair practice conditions throughout industry, to determine the extent to which such decline in standards actually occurred. The data obtained became part of the extensive material collected and analyzed during this period of review.

81 ¶ A Suggestion for Reform in the Issuance of Commemorative Coins. June 19, 1935

My dear Mr. Chairman:

BILLS are being introduced in Congress with increasing frequency authorizing the minting of coins commemorating events, many of which are of no more than local significance. During the ten-year period from 1920 to 1930 fifteen issues of fifty-cent pieces of special design were authorized to be coined to commemorate historical events, an average of one issue every eight months. The aggregate amount of the coins authorized to be struck was over \$13,000,000.

On April 20, 1930, the President, at the instance of the Treasury Department, which has long been opposed to the issuance of commemorative coins, vetoed H.R. 2029, "An Act to authorize the coinage of silver fifty-cent pieces in commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Gadsden Purchase." The veto of this measure had the effect of discouraging for a time the enactment of legislation of this nature, and no new commemorative coins were authorized until 1933. Since that date nine issues of such coins have been authorized, an average of one issue every

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three and a fraction months, notwithstanding the fact that in each case the Treasury Department reported adversely on the bill. The aggregate amount of the coins authorized to be struck was almost 3,000,000. At the present time there are many bills and proposals of a similar nature pending in Congress.

The rate at which new issues of commemorative coins have been authorized since 1932 has increased twofold over the ten-year period between 1920 and 1930. These coins do not have a wide circulation as a medium of exchange, and, because of the multiplicity of designs arising from the issuance of such coins, they jeopardize the integrity of our coins and cause confusion. Accordingly, I think the practice of striking special coins in commemoration of historical events, and of permitting the sponsoring organizations to sell them at a profit is a misuse of our coinage system, which is assuming increasingly dangerous proportions.

The Congress recognized the wisdom of maintaining uniformity in the designs of the various coins of the United States by providing in Section 3510 of the Revised Statutes that:

“ . . . no change in the design or die of any coin shall be made oftener than once in twenty-five years from and including the year of the first adoption of the design, model, die or hub for the same coin.”

It seems to me that historical events could be very suitably and properly commemorated through the striking by the Government of medals in lieu of coins. These medals could be struck and furnished at not less than the estimated cost of their manufacture by the Bureau of the Mint, since this function is now carried on to a limited extent by such Bureau and clearly falls within its province.

By the substitution of appropriate commemorative medals for special fifty-cent pieces much is to be gained. The size of the medals can be made larger than fifty-cent pieces, thus providing for more suitable inscriptions and more artistic commemorative designs. It is my thought that sculptors and artists will be en-

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couraged thereby to raise the standards of medal making in the United States.

Under the present system of seeking to obtain special legislation for commemorative coins, many anniversaries commemorating local historical events are under a serious handicap. This new proposal for the striking off of suitable medals will, I believe, encourage the adequate observance of these anniversaries.

There is transmitted herewith a proposed bill drafted by the Treasury Department which is designed to carry out this proposal.

Very sincerely yours,

Hon. Duncan U. Fletcher,
Chairman, Senate Committee on Banking and Currency,
and Hon. Andrew L. Somers,
Chairman, House Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures,
Washington, D. C.

NOTE: Although bills were introduced in the 74th Congress, embodying the suggestions contained in the foregoing letter, favorable action was taken in the Senate only. In the 75th Congress a bill was introduced, and, on August 2, 1937, was passed by the House, which would place a limitation on the further issuance of certain commemorative coins previously authorized.

82 ¶ The Two Hundred and Fourteenth Press Conference (Excerpts). June 19, 1935

(The Utility Holding Company Bill.)

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning, everybody. I think this is going to be the duller for news on record. I don't know anything.

Q. You have said that before.

THE PRESIDENT: I know it; it doesn't always work out that way.

Who is going to the boat races?

Q. Fourteen of us, so far.

Q. Are you rooting for Harvard?

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THE PRESIDENT: I think I could get a White House Correspondents' crew that would beat the Harvard crew.

Q. A 100-yard dash, but no longer than that.

Q. You wouldn't tell Franklin that, would you?

THE PRESIDENT: No. (*Laughter*)

Q. You think he would be discouraged?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I just remarked to the Senator (*Young*) that this would probably be the dulllest conference on record. It has got to the point where I am seriously thinking of organizing a White House Correspondents' crew to take part in the intercollegiate regatta next year.

Q. What would you train them on?

THE PRESIDENT: I would put Mac and Steve (*MacIntyre and Early, Secretaries to the President*) on the training end.

Q. We could train in the Nelson House bar. . . .

Q. Have you any further messages to Congress in mind right now?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. What are they?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know when the next message will go up. You had better "stick around." One might go up some time today; but I haven't decided and I can't tell you which one it will be.

Q. Are you insisting on the so-called death sentence section of the so-called utilities bill?

THE PRESIDENT: What do you mean, the "death sentence"?

Q. That is the section in the bill requiring some companies to end their existence by 1942 if they do not meet the approval of the Securities Commission. You will remember that some of them wanted to turn that down.

THE PRESIDENT: All I can say is that I am heartily in favor of Section 11.

Q. That is the section.

THE PRESIDENT: Of course the objective is this and I think probably the easiest way to understand it is something along this line: There are certain holding companies which are wholly

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intrastate such, for instance, as the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey. I think that is wholly intrastate—I am not certain—but it is 95 or 98 percent intrastate. The Niagara Hudson Company of New York is an intrastate company.

Now, as I understand it, we eliminate from the operation of this bill the intrastate companies that do business solely within the State.

Then you come down to certain other types of holding companies like, for example, the Associated Gas and Electric Company. Now take in your own minds—we have talked about this before—take a sheet of paper and on the bottom put a lot of little circles—coming back to my old illustration. Those represent the operating companies. Say there are 100 of them. In most cases the operating companies are properly capitalized, and in most cases they are making good money.

Suppose, for the sake of argument, that they are making an average of \$7 on \$100 investment. That \$7 goes up that sheet of paper in a zigzag line and it goes through, let us say, 33 other circles which are in the middle of the sheet of paper. Those are intermediate holding companies, they are management companies, engineering companies, finance companies. On the way up through these various zigzag lines—the most extraordinary document in the world is the organization chart of the Associated Gas and Electric Company—by the time the \$7 comes up through these 33 intermediate companies and gets to the top company at the top of the page, there isn't \$7 left. The \$7 has been milked all the way up so that when it gets to the top holding company of all, it may, if it is lucky, represent \$4.

Now, the objective of the bill is to eliminate the intermediate companies so that the \$7 will go up to the top substantially intact.

I suppose that is the easiest way for the layman to be given a picture of what it is all about.

Q. In other words, you have no objection to a holding company in the so-called first degree and eliminating all the rest?

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THE PRESIDENT: No. But there is one other feature, and that is that the holding company in the first degree probably should relate to substantially contiguous territory. When that holding company relates to widely disseminated properties all over the United States, it is not a holding company, it is an investment company.

Q. Now, you take the North American Company. It operates in Washington, D. C., it operates in Cleveland, it operates in St. Louis. Would it be possible for the North American to divide into three companies, one for each group?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't see why not.

Q. Could the North American stock be held by an investment company as long as they did not interfere with the management?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. In other words, Mr. President, the present investors who hold North American stock, despite the claims of certain officials who have sent out considerable letters, need not necessarily lose anything at all?

THE PRESIDENT: I should say you are absolutely right, but I hesitate to say so on the record for fear somebody would start a boom in North American stock. (*Laughter*)

(With respect to the Public Utility Holding Company Bill, see Items 27, 48 and 110 of this volume.)

83 ¶ A Message to the Congress on Tax Revision.

June 19, 1935

To the Congress:

As the fiscal year draws to its close it becomes our duty to consider the broad question of tax methods and policies. I wish to acknowledge the timely efforts of the Congress to lay the basis, through its committees, for administrative improvements, by careful study of the revenue systems of our own and of other

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countries. These studies have made it very clear that we need to simplify and clarify our revenue laws.

The Joint Legislative Committee, established by the Revenue Act of 1926, has been particularly helpful to the Treasury Department. The members of that Committee have generously consulted with administrative officials, not only on broad questions of policy but on important and difficult tax cases.

On the basis of these studies and of other studies conducted by officials of the Treasury, I am able to make a number of suggestions of important changes in our policy of taxation. These are based on the broad principle that if a government is to be prudent its taxes must produce ample revenues without discouraging enterprise; and if it is to be just it must distribute the burden of taxes equitably. I do not believe that our present system of taxation completely meets this test. Our revenue laws have operated in many ways to the unfair advantage of the few, and they have done little to prevent an unjust concentration of wealth and economic power.

With the enactment of the Income Tax Law of 1913, the Federal Government began to apply effectively the widely accepted principle that taxes should be levied in proportion to ability to pay and in proportion to the benefits received. Income was wisely chosen as the measure of benefits and of ability to pay. This was, and still is, a wholesome guide for national policy. It should be retained as the governing principle of Federal taxation. The use of other forms of taxes is often justifiable, particularly for temporary periods; but taxation according to income is the most effective instrument yet devised to obtain just contribution from those best able to bear it and to avoid placing onerous burdens upon the mass of our people.

The movement toward progressive taxation of wealth and of income has accompanied the growing diversification and interrelation of effort which marks our industrial society. Wealth in the modern world does not come merely from individual effort; it results from a combination of individual effort and of the manifold uses to which the community puts that effort. The individ-

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ual does not create the product of his industry with his own hands; he utilizes the many processes and forces of mass production to meet the demands of a national and international market.

Therefore, in spite of the great importance in our national life of the efforts and ingenuity of unusual individuals, the people in the mass have inevitably helped to make large fortunes possible. Without mass cooperation great accumulations of wealth would be impossible save by unhealthy speculation. As Andrew Carnegie put it, "Where wealth accrues honorably, the people are always silent partners." Whether it be wealth achieved through the cooperation of the entire community or riches gained by speculation—in either case the ownership of such wealth or riches represents a great public interest and a great ability to pay.

I

My first proposal, in line with this broad policy, has to do with inheritances and gifts. The transmission from generation to generation of vast fortunes by will, inheritance, or gift is not consistent with the ideals and sentiments of the American people.

The desire to provide security for oneself and one's family is natural and wholesome, but it is adequately served by a reasonable inheritance. Great accumulations of wealth cannot be justified on the basis of personal and family security. In the last analysis such accumulations amount to the perpetuation of great and undesirable concentration of control in a relatively few individuals over the employment and welfare of many, many others.

Such inherited economic power is as inconsistent with the ideals of this generation as inherited political power was inconsistent with the ideals of the generation which established our Government.

Creative enterprise is not stimulated by vast inheritances. They bless neither those who bequeath nor those who receive. As long ago as 1907, in a message to Congress, President Theodore Roosevelt urged this wise social policy:

"A heavy progressive tax upon a very large fortune is in no way such a tax upon thrift or industry as a like tax would be on a small fortune. No

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advantage comes either to the country as a whole or to the individuals inheriting the money by permitting the transmission in their entirety of the enormous fortunes which would be affected by such a tax; and as an incident to its function of revenue raising, such a tax would help to preserve a measurable equality of opportunity for the people of the generations growing to manhood."

A tax upon inherited economic power is a tax upon static wealth, not upon that dynamic wealth which makes for the healthy diffusion of economic good.

Those who argue for the benefits secured to society by great fortunes invested in great businesses should note that such a tax does not affect the essential benefits that remain after the death of the creator of such a business. The mechanism of production that he created remains. The benefits of corporate organization remain. The advantages of pooling many investments in one enterprise remain. Governmental privileges such as patents remain. All that are gone are the initiative, energy and genius of the creator—and death has taken these away.

I recommend, therefore, that in addition to the present estate taxes, there should be levied an inheritance, succession, and legacy tax in respect to all very large amounts received by any one legatee or beneficiary; and to prevent, so far as possible, evasions of this tax, I recommend further the imposition of gift taxes suited to this end.

Because of the basis on which this proposed tax is to be levied and also because of the very sound public policy of encouraging a wider distribution of wealth, I strongly urge that the proceeds of this tax should be specifically segregated and applied, as they accrue, to the reduction of the national debt. By so doing, we shall progressively lighten the tax burden of the average taxpayer, and, incidentally, assist in our approach to a balanced budget.

II

The disturbing effects upon our national life that come from great inheritances of wealth and power can in the future be re-

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duced, not only through the method I have just described, but through a definite increase in the taxes now levied upon very great individual net incomes.

To illustrate: The application of the principle of a graduated tax now stops at \$1,000,000 of annual income. In other words, while the rate for a man with a \$6,000 income is double the rate for one with a \$4,000 income, a man having a \$5,000,000 annual income pays at the same rate as one whose income is \$1,000,000.

Social unrest and a deepening sense of unfairness are dangers to our national life which we must minimize by rigorous methods. People know that vast personal incomes come not only through the effort or ability or luck of those who receive them, but also because of the opportunities for advantage which Government itself contributes. Therefore, the duty rests upon the Government to restrict such incomes by very high taxes.

III

In the modern world scientific invention and mass production have brought many things within the reach of the average man which in an earlier age were available to few. With large-scale enterprise has come the great corporation drawing its resources from widely diversified activities and from a numerous group of investors. The community has profited in those cases in which large-scale production has resulted in substantial economies and lower prices.

The advantages and the protections conferred upon corporations by Government increase in value as the size of the corporation increases. Some of these advantages are granted by the State which conferred a charter upon the corporation; others are granted by other States which, as a matter of grace, allow the corporation to do local business within their borders. But perhaps the most important advantages, such as the carrying on of business between two or more States, are derived through the Federal Government. Great corporations are protected in a considerable measure from the taxing power and regulatory power of the States by virtue of the interstate character of their busi-

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nesses. As the profit to such a corporation increases, so the value of its advantages and protection increases.

Furthermore, the drain of a depression upon the reserves of business puts a disproportionate strain upon the modestly capitalized small enterprise. Without such small enterprises our competitive economic society would cease. Size begets monopoly. Moreover, in the aggregate these little businesses furnish the indispensable local basis for those nationwide markets which alone can ensure the success of our mass production industries. Today our smaller corporations are fighting not only for their own local well-being but for that fairly distributed national prosperity which makes large-scale enterprise possible.

It seems only equitable, therefore, to adjust our tax system in accordance with economic capacity, advantage and fact. The smaller corporations should not carry burdens beyond their powers; the vast concentrations of capital should be ready to carry burdens commensurate with their powers and their advantages.

We have established the principle of graduated taxation in respect to personal incomes, gifts and estates. We should apply the same principle to corporations. Today the smallest corporation pays the same rate on its net profits as the corporation which is a thousand times its size.

I, therefore, recommend the substitution of a corporation income tax graduated according to the size of corporation income in place of the present uniform corporation income tax of $13\frac{3}{4}$ percent. The rate for smaller corporations might well be reduced to $10\frac{3}{4}$ percent, and the rates graduated upward to a rate of $16\frac{3}{4}$ percent on net income in the case of the largest corporations, with such classifications of business enterprises as the public interest may suggest to the Congress.

Provision should, of course, be made to prevent evasion of such graduated tax on corporate incomes through the device of numerous subsidiaries or affiliates, each of which might technically qualify as a small concern even though all were in fact operated as a single organization. The most effective method of preventing such evasions would be a tax on dividends received by cor-

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porations. Bona fide investment trusts that submit to public regulation and perform the function of permitting small investors to obtain the benefit of diversification of risk may well be exempted from this tax.

In addition to these three specific recommendations of changes in our national tax policies, I commend to your study and consideration a number of others. Ultimately, we should seek through taxation the simplification of our corporate structures through the elimination of unnecessary holding companies in all lines of business. We should likewise discourage unwieldy and unnecessary corporate surpluses. These complicated and difficult questions cannot adequately be debated in the time remaining in the present Session of this Congress.

I renew, however, at this time the recommendations made by my predecessors for the submission and ratification of a Constitutional Amendment whereby the Federal Government will be permitted to tax the income on subsequently issued State and local securities, and whereby State and local governments will be permitted to tax the income on future issues of Federal securities.

In my Budget Message of January 7th, I recommended that the Congress extend the miscellaneous internal revenue taxes which are about to expire and also maintain the current rates of those taxes which, under the present law, would be reduced. I said then that I considered such taxes necessary to the financing of the Budget for 1936. I am gratified that the Congress is taking action on this recommendation.

NOTE: The foregoing message contained three specific recommendations for modifying the revenue laws, and suggested a further study on additional material.

The first specific recommendation was in connection with inheritance and gift taxes. As a result of it, the Congress by Sections 201 and 301 of the Revenue Act of 1935 (Pub. No. 407, 74th Congress; 49

Stat. 1014) increased the estate tax rates and also the gift tax rates.

The second specific recommendation was for an increase of the surtax rates for large incomes. Section 101 of the statute carried out the foregoing suggestion, and increased the rates of surtax applying to individual incomes in excess of \$50,000.

To the Regional Resettlement Directors

The third specific recommendation was that a corporation income tax graduated according to the size of the corporation income be substituted for the existing uniform corporation income tax, with provisions to prevent the evasion of such tax. As a result of this recommendation Section 102 of the Revenue Act of 1935 imposed a graduated rate of from 12½ percent to 15 percent. The Revenue Act of 1936 (Pub. No. 740, 74th Congress; 49 Stat. 1648) carried the recommendation out still further by reducing the burden on smaller corporate incomes up to \$40,000. The Revenue Acts of 1935 and 1936 also included in corporation taxable net incomes at first 10 percent and then 15 percent of the amount of dividends received from other domestic corporations.

As the result of the recommendation in the foregoing message to study the possibility of discouraging the formation and maintenance of

excessive corporate surpluses, together with the specific recommendations of a later message dealing with this problem (see Item 29, Vol. V), the Revenue Act of 1936 imposed a special tax upon that portion of a corporation's earnings which is retained by the corporation and not distributed to shareholders.

Further carrying out the foregoing recommendations, a Senate Joint Resolution has been introduced in the 75th Congress to place before the States for ratification an amendment to the Constitution removing the tax-exempt features from future issues of State and Federal securities.

The recommendation of the foregoing message that the miscellaneous internal revenue taxes about to expire be continued without reduction was enacted into law (Pub. Res. No. 36, 74th Congress; 49 Stat. 431).

See also Item 99, this volume.

84 ¶ Informal Remarks to the Regional Resettlement Directors. June 20, 1935

THE work you are doing lies particularly close to my heart. I go back a good many years to the time, in Albany, when we undertook what, so far as I know, was the first land-use survey. It related, in part, to soil but mostly to human beings and there, with the cooperation of the Cornell Agricultural College, we started our first land-use survey. I became intensely interested in it.

Since that time, of course, a good many States have been working both on the agricultural and on the human end of it. In the

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last two years we have put the Federal Government very actively into the major objectives that we all seek.

I have been trying to interest people in the cities in our work. For the first time, I think, we have begun to cause people in the cities to realize that their own prosperity depends, in a very large part, on the prosperity of people who live and work outside of cities. All of the small communities of the country understand it. We want the people in the big cities as well to understand. It is a national problem that relates, in the long run, just as much to people who live in cities as it does to people who live on farms.

The Resettlement Administration has begun a work in which we all believe. You who are here today are entrusted with the duty of bringing not only new hope, but a new program into the lives of a great many thousands of families. Their economic position has been weakened by years of depression and by attempts on their part, either to make a living on land that was unsuitable to begin with, or on land that has been so reduced in fertility through erosion or through improper cropping that it is impossible for them to make a living on it.

One thing that fascinates me about your work is that no two cases are the same. Every single operation you conduct has to be viewed from the point of view of that case alone. For instance, some small financial help will be enough to tide over and put on their feet a great many families that have been hit by the depression. In other cases, families will have to be given an opportunity to move off the land they are on, and will have to be provided with better land. In any of these cases, we have to establish a better relationship between people and the source of their living.

The first benefit expected from this work will be taking and keeping these families off the relief rolls. The money we are using comes within the objective set by the Congress which is to put three and a half million people to work at a cost of four billion dollars.

Another objective we seek is to devote our land resources to their highest uses, not only for this generation but for future

To the Regional Resettlement Directors

generations. We approach this genuine conservation policy with the future in mind.

Under this appropriation act, we are expected to take care of as many families on relief as we possibly can. You will be doing this in two ways—giving them work on community projects, and providing funds for rehabilitation and resettlement. In this, you will center your attention primarily on those actually on the relief rolls.

I know you won't mind my saying what I said to the Relief Administrators of the forty-eight States the other day. We cannot, must not, and will not let politics enter into this work. It makes no difference what a family in need of rural resettlement, in one form or another, calls itself. The fact is that, if the need exists, you must help out and you have my authority, as I told the Works Progress Administrators the other day, to disregard partisan political pressure in any case where an attempt is made to exert it. You can tell them from me that you are not allowed to do it, and that you are not going to do it.

You are aware, as I am, that the country regions are the great reservoir from which much of our future population will come. It is our duty to see to it that this future population comes out of homes where they have been able to live and grow under proper conditions, according to adequate, American standards. That is the task with which you are entrusted. It is a fascinating job. It is something the results of which will last for many generations to come. That is why your responsibility is much more than a one-year responsibility.

(For a discussion of the Resettlement Administration, see note to Item 50, this volume.)

85 ¶ White House Statement on Rules and Regulations for Works Progress Program. June 24, 1935

THE President today by Executive Order No. 7083 prescribed rules and regulations relating to methods of prosecuting projects under the Works Progress Program.

As laid down in the regulations all projects must be prosecuted under one of four methods—force account, fixed price contract, limited price contract and management contract. The method may be designated in the application for the allotment, but be subject to the approval of Works Progress Administrator Harry L. Hopkins, who may designate another method to be used.

On each job, by whatever method prosecuted, not fewer than 90 percent of all employees, with some few possible exemptions, must be taken from relief rolls and be certified by the United States Employment Service.

As defined in the regulations the “force account method” involves the employment and supervision of all persons employed on a project by the supervisory agency, which is defined as meaning the department, Federal agency, State, Territory, Possession, Subdivision or agency thereof, municipality, the District of Columbia or public bodies thereof, which conducts the project.

The fixed price contract method calls for awards based on competitive bidding involving the payment to the contractor of a fixed sum for the entire job or specified units, which shall cover all items of cost except materials, supplies and equipment which are to be supplied by the Government.

The limited price contract provides for awards based on competitive bidding calling for the payment of fixed sums for completed projects or specified units thereof, which will include all items of cost other than labor employed at the site of the project, and the cost of materials and equipment to be furnished by the Government.

On this type of contract the contractor must pay those em-

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played on the job the wages fixed by the President for those taken off relief, for which payment the contractor will be reimbursed.

The management contract is to be awarded on the basis of competitive bidding on specifications requiring the contractor to administer, supervise and manage the project, provide all materials and equipment save such as the Government may provide and pay all persons employed on the job wages fixed by the President for persons taken off relief and be paid a fixed amount for supervision and management of the project and for the use of equipment plus all wage payments.

Every contractor on the job will have the right, subject to disapproval of the Works Progress Administration, to dismiss any employee or return any employee to the United States Employment Service for reclassification.

86 ¶ Presidential Statement on the Establishment of the National Youth Administration. June 26, 1935

SATISFACTORY progress in setting up the work program for the unemployed is being made. This program calls for the removal of unemployed from direct relief to jobs and should be well under way during July.

I have determined that we shall do something for the Nation's unemployed youth because we can ill afford to lose the skill and energy of these young men and women. They must have their chance in school, their turn as apprentices and their opportunity for jobs—a chance to work and earn for themselves.

In recognition of this great national need, I have established a National Youth Administration, to be under the Works Progress Administration.

This undertaking will need the vigorous cooperation of the citizens of the several States, and to insure that they shall have an

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important part in this work, a representative group will be appointed to act as a National Advisory Board with similar Boards of citizens in the States and municipalities throughout the country. On these Boards there shall be representatives of industry, labor, education and youth because I want the youth of America to have something to say about what is being done for them.

Organizations along State and municipal lines will be developed. The work of these organizations will be to mobilize industrial, commercial, agricultural and educational forces of the States so as to provide employment and to render other practical assistance to unemployed youth.

It is recognized that the final solution of this whole problem of unemployed youth will not be attained until there is a resumption of normal business activities and opportunities for private employment on a wide scale. I believe that the National Youth Program will serve the most pressing and immediate needs of that portion of unemployed youth most seriously affected at the present time.

It is my sincere hope that all public and private agencies, groups and organizations, as well as educators, recreational leaders, employers, and labor leaders will cooperate whole-heartedly with the National and State Youth Administrations in the furtherance of this National Youth Program.

The yield on this investment should be high.

(See following Item and note.)

86A ¶ The National Youth Administration Is Established. Executive Order No. 7086.

June 26, 1935

BY VIRTUE of and pursuant to the authority vested in me by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, approved April 8, 1935 (Public Resolution No. 11, 74th Congress), I hereby establish the National Youth Administration, to be within the

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Works Progress Administration established under Executive Order No. 7034 of May 6, 1935.

There shall be a National Advisory Committee and an Executive Committee for the National Youth Administration. The members of said National Advisory Committee shall be representatives of labor, business, agriculture, education, and youth, to be appointed by the President. . . .

The National Youth Administration shall be under the general supervision of the Administrator of the Works Progress Administration and under the immediate supervision of an Executive Director. I hereby appoint Aubrey W. Williams as Executive Director thereof to serve without additional compensation. The said Executive Director shall also be a member of the Advisory Committee on Allotments, established under said Executive Order No. 7034 of May 6, 1935.

I hereby prescribe the following functions and duties of the National Youth Administration:

To initiate and administer a program of approved projects which shall provide relief, work relief, and employment for persons between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five years who are no longer in regular attendance at a school requiring full time, and who are not regularly engaged in remunerative employment.

In the performance of such duties and functions . . . the Executive Director is hereby authorized to accept and utilize such voluntary and uncompensated services and, with the consent of the State, the services of such State and local officers and employees, and appoint, without regard to the provisions of civil service laws, such officers and employees, as may be necessary and prescribe the duties and responsibilities and, without regard to the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, fix the compensation of any officers and employees so appointed; *Provided*, That, in so far as practicable, the persons employed under the authority of this Executive Order shall be selected from those receiving relief.

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Allocations will be made hereafter for administrative expenses and for authorized projects.

NOTE: The young people of the United States who had been caught in the depression had special problems in addition to those shared with their elders. Their needs were greater and more far-reaching than the immediate demands of food, clothing and shelter. They were confronted with the problem of an education, a beginning in a trade or a career, and, above all, the prevention of the natural effects of long idleness and continued frustration. Theirs was a spiritual as well as a physical problem.

Certain provisions of the N.R.A. codes increased the difficulty of the problem. Most industries had abolished employment of persons under 16 years of age, a condition which resulted in the immediate discharge of 1,500,000 employed youth. The adoption of minimum wages served also to keep out of employment vast numbers of young people otherwise eligible, because employers who had to pay a definite minimum naturally selected their employees from the vast number of unemployed adults rather than young persons. The result was to swell the number of the hopeless young people looking for jobs, or just "hanging around" on the street corners, or aimlessly wandering around the country.

The first direct attack upon this problem was the establishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps

(C.C.C., see Items 21, 31, 90 and 113 of Vol. II and Item 165 of Vol. III). This gathered approximately a half million boys and young men from the streets and from idleness into a healthful outdoor environment of work. However, the C.C.C. was no help to girls and young women, or to young people who wished to continue in school or college, or to those millions of young men, who, for various reasons, could not be separated from their families. Of course, during this time the enrollment in the colleges where tuition fees were charged was continuing to slump.

In 1933 a conference of educators was called in Washington by the Commissioner of Education. One of the recommendations of this conference was the extension of financial aid to college students. In December, 1933, a program of college aid was inaugurated by the F.E.R.A. Under this plan colleges and universities were given relief funds for the employment of students up to 10 percent of their enrollment on useful part-time projects, at the average wage of \$15.00 per month. About 75,000 students immediately took advantage of this, and later, with the quota raised to 12 percent, the number increased to 100,000.

Even the C.C.C. and the college-aid program, effective as they were, did not reach many hundreds of

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thousands who could not take advantage of them.

In the spring of 1935 a survey of depression-youth was made by the Works Progress Administration. It was found that 3,000,000 people between 16 and 25 years of age were on relief, an average of one in seven. Of those on relief in cities, less than 40 percent had gone beyond the eighth grade and less than 3 percent had entered college. Most distressing of all was the discovery of the large numbers of young people, who, in final desperation, had virtually become hoboes. The transient service of the W.P.A. in a single day in May, 1935, counted 54,000 young people registered at its camps and shelters. There was no way of recording the large numbers of unregistered, who had literally become tramps on the highways and on freight trains.

Finally, on June 26, 1935, I issued the foregoing Executive Order, establishing the National Youth Administration, with Mr. Aubrey Williams as Executive Director. It received an allocation of approximately \$41,200,000 from the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act in 1935, and close to \$68,000,000 the following year.

In order to decentralize the administration, State Youth Administrations were set up in each State and in New York City, supplemented by district and local directors and advisory committees throughout the country.

The objectives of the Youth Program were set forth as follows:

1. To provide funds for the part-time employment of needy school, college, and graduate students to help them continue their education.
2. To provide funds for part-time employment of young people chiefly from relief families, on projects designed not only to provide valuable work experience, but to benefit youth generally and the communities in which they live.
3. To encourage job-training, counseling, and placement services for youth.
4. To encourage the development and extension of constructive leisure-time activities.

There are three broad operating divisions in the Administration which function as follows:

The Works Projects Program—Part-time employment on projects is furnished out-of-school youth between 18 and 25 years of age. These projects cover a wide range of activity—clerical assistance in public offices, library work, park beautification and landscaping, sewing rooms, soil erosion control, minor construction, etc.—and in most cases have a definite training value for the inexperienced young workers.

The Student Aid Program—The purpose of this program is to fur-

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nish part-time employment for needy young people between 16 and 25 years of age in order that they may continue in school or college. The selection of students and the design and supervision of projects are controlled by the school and college officials. Projects include work about the school grounds and buildings, clerical assistance to the faculty, library and laboratory assistance, and educational and recreational work in the local communities.

The Guidance and Placement Program—Vocational guidance is furnished either through pamphlets or conferences with young people. Placement activities are conducted cooperatively with regular State employment services in a number of cities where Junior Employment Counselors, paid out of N.Y.A. funds, are placed on the staffs of these offices to receive the applications of persons under 25 and to seek the types of jobs for which they are fitted.

The Federal Committee on Apprenticeship Training (organized pursuant to Executive Order 6750-C, to guide the program of employment of apprentices in N.R.A. codes, and continued under Executive Order 7076), which is financed with N.Y.A. funds but operates under the Department of Labor, seeks cooperative agreements between employer and employee groups under standards which provide maximum benefits in the form of wages and

training for the young people indentured.

While exact figures are lacking it is estimated conservatively that direct cash benefits of the National Youth Administration reached very nearly 1,500,000 different young people during the two years ending June 30, 1937.

Allocations in that period were \$52,946,638 for the Student Aid Program, \$51,830,518 for the Works Progress Program, and \$4,393,456 for administrative expenses which include the cost of the Guidance and Placement Program and the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship Training—a total of \$109,170,612.

Employment on all phases of the N.Y.A. program reached a level of approximately 500,000 early in 1936 and has remained at that point, with minor fluctuations since. At the peak of operations in April of that year, there were 404,749 young people receiving student aid benefits and 181,279 employed on projects, a total of 586,028.

The Junior Placement Service did not begin functioning until March, 1936. At the close of the year, however, offices had been established in 50 cities throughout the country, 65,700 young job applicants had been interviewed and registered, and 24,941 had been placed in private employment.

The Federal Committee on Apprenticeship Training had established cooperating committees in 45 States and 115 local communities at the close of 1936. Standard apprentice-

Gold Clauses in Government Bonds

ship agreements were in the process of formulation with a number of trade and industrial groups.

A program of educational camps for unemployed young women was

instituted in September, 1936. At the close of that year 16 such camps, with a total enrollment of

1,009 young women from N.Y.A. rolls, were in operation.

87 ¶ A Message to the Congress on Gold Clauses in Government Bonds. June 27, 1935

To the Congress:

BEFORE the termination of this Session of the Congress, I believe that it is important that definite action be taken to eliminate any uncertainty with respect to the right of holders of gold clause bonds of the Government to sue for payment either in gold or else in legal tender with an additional sum of sixty-nine cents on every dollar.

To this end, I urge the withdrawal by the United States of its consent to be sued upon its currency or securities. The question of the effect of the so-called gold clause, in the light of the monetary legislation of the 73d Congress, came before the Supreme Court at the term just closed. A suit for additional payment under existing circumstances, the Court said, would "constitute not a recoupment of loss in any proper sense but an unjustified enrichment." Bonds of the United States containing gold clauses—all of them issued, sold and payable wholly within the United States—have been continuously quoted on the exchanges at no higher prices than bonds not containing such clauses. But the continuing possibility of actions by litigious persons leaves open the continuing possibility of speculation. There is no public interest, under these conditions, in permitting a handful of private litigants to exploit the general public in the hope of a wholly speculative private profit.

This conclusion will hold so long as the Congress adheres to its declared policy, now more than a third of a century old, to maintain the equal value of every dollar in the market.

Gold Clauses in Government Bonds

I recommend, therefore, the enactment of legislation which will make clear that it is our fixed policy to continue to treat the bond-holders of all our securities equally and uniformly, to afford any holder of any gold clause security, who thinks he could by any possibility sustain any loss in the future, an opportunity to put himself immediately in a position to avoid such future loss, and to remove all possibility of any suits designed to hamper the Government in administering the public debt and in financing its ordinary and emergency expenditures.

More specifically, I recommend the immediate enactment of legislation (1) that will authorize and direct the Secretary of the Treasury, at the request of the holders of gold clause securities of the United States, to make payment therefor in cash, dollar for dollar, with accrued interest, or at the holder's election, to exchange such securities for non-gold clause securities with the same interest rate and maturity; (2) that will terminate any consent which the United States may have voluntarily given to be sued on its securities, coins or currencies; and (3) that will reaffirm the fixed policy of the United States to make payment to all holders of its securities, coins and currencies on an equal and uniform dollar for dollar basis and will make appropriations available for payments on this basis and on this basis only.

There is no constitutional or inherent right to sue the Government; on the contrary, the immunity of the sovereign from suit is a principle of universal acceptance, and permission to bring such suits is an act of grace, which, with us, may be granted or withheld by the Congress. The courts, it is hardly necessary for me to add, will always be open to those who seek justice, but they were not established for use by a few to enrich themselves at the expense of the many, or to enable a few to harass and embarrass sovereign action by the Government when taken for the benefit of all.

Not only justice to the holders of our currency and of our securities who support and rely on our policy of equal and uniform treatment to all, but also the interests of our entire people re-

On the World Power Conference

quire that the Government of the United States make it clear that it cannot and will not consent to the use of its courts in aid of efforts to sabotage the operations of Government or in aid of private speculation.

This proposal reasserts and makes definite the control of the Congress over the securities and money issued by the United States of America.

NOTE: In order to make it clear that holders of Government bonds containing a clause requiring payment in gold would not obtain any unjust advantage over holders of other gold clause bonds, as their rights were defined by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Gold Clause Cases (294 U. S. 240-383; see Introduction to this volume), I sent the foregoing message recommending withdrawing the consent of the United States to be sued on these gold clause bonds, and fixing a definite policy of making payment to holders of

these securities on an equal basis with holders of other securities.

Pursuant to the recommendations in this message the Congress passed Public Resolution No. 63, 74th Congress (approved August 27, 1935), which provided in effect that the gold clause securities of the United States should be paid in terms of the then current dollar and that there be withdrawn the consent of the United States to be sued upon its gold clause obligations for the amount of gold therein specified which was greater than the amount of gold then fixed in the current dollar.

88 ¶ White House Statement on the Coming World Power Conference. July 3, 1935

FRANK R. McNINCH, Chairman of the Federal Power Commission, has been designated by the President as his special representative to attend the meeting of the International Executive Council of the World Power Conference at The Hague, beginning July 15, 1935.

Chairman McNinch will express to the Executive Council the hope of the President that the third plenary meeting of the World Power Conference will be held in the United States under the auspices of the Federal Government in 1936, and will advise

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the Council that the President has sent a message to the Congress recommending that legislation necessary to this end be enacted.

The World Power Conference is an international organization created in 1923 for the purpose of international discussion and study of the technical, economic, and social problems connected with power development. The Conference is a federation of national groups from forty-eight countries. Its first plenary meeting was held in London in 1924 with some 1,700 delegates in attendance. Its second was held at Berlin in 1930, with 4,000 delegates. It is the third plenary meeting, scheduled for 1936, which it is hoped may be held in the United States in the autumn of that year.

In addition to the plenary meetings, there have been sectional meetings in Basle, Switzerland, in 1926; in London in 1928; in Barcelona and in Tokyo in 1929; and in Stockholm in 1933. In the 1933 meeting, four Scandinavian countries participated: Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland.

The national groups in the several countries are, in general, made up of representatives of the Government, of national technical societies and scientific institutions, and of representatives of electrical and allied industries. The individuals forming the membership of the several national committees, as well as those who have taken part in the several meetings of the Conference, have been Government officials having relations with the electrical industry, and other outstanding leaders of each country in the electric power field, both utility and manufacturing, in engineering and in finance.

NOTE: The Third World Power Conference met in the United States September 7-12, 1936, at which time I made an address, printed as Item 123, Vol. V. (See note to that Item.)

89 ¶ White House Release of Presidential Statement Fixing Respective Jurisdictions of P.W.A. and W.P.A. July 3, 1935

The President today issued the following statement defining the types of projects which shall be within the jurisdictions of the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works and the Works Progress Administration under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935.

According to this clarification construction projects where the aggregate cost upon completion is estimated to be more than \$25,000 shall be within the jurisdiction of the Public Works Administration. The President listed a number of examples of projects of this type.

Projects of any type where the aggregate cost upon completion is estimated to be \$25,000 or less and all non-construction projects of a type designed to assure maximum employment principally to clerical, professional and white-collar classes shall be within the jurisdiction of the Works Progress Administration.

All applications involving loans for construction of public works projects shall be submitted to the Public Works Administration. . . .

Projects for slum clearance and low-rent housing shall be carried on by the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration as heretofore.

The President's statement directed that any application rejected by the Public Works Administration shall be submitted immediately to the Works Progress Administration.

Projects other than those defined as P.W.A. shall be submitted to the Works Progress Administration.

The statement does not govern applications involving projects falling within the jurisdiction of any other Federal agency. These applications will continue to be handled as heretofore.

The statement approved by the President was signed by the Federal Emergency Administrator of Public Works, the Works Progress Administrator and the Executive Director, National Emergency Council.

STATEMENT. Defining types of applications to be considered

Jurisdictions of P.W.A. and W.P.A.

by Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works and Works Progress Administration.

PART I

In order to assure the expeditious and orderly handling of the great number of applications of States, Territories, Possessions, including subdivisions and agencies thereof, municipalities, the District of Columbia, and public bodies, now being submitted under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, and in order to further the development of a balanced program of sound projects which will take a maximum number of workers off the relief rolls, it is desirable to define what types of projects shall be within the jurisdiction of the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works and what types of projects shall be within the jurisdiction of the Works Progress Administration.

PART II

Applications shall be submitted to the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works for:

(1) *Works Projects*: Construction projects (other than repair and maintenance projects, and other projects directed in this statement to be submitted to the Works Progress Administration) where the aggregate cost upon completion is estimated to be more than \$25,000.

Examples of such projects are: airport buildings, armories, almshouses, auditoriums, bulkheads, canals, docks, dormitories, schools and university buildings, electric heat, light and power plants and distribution systems, gas plants and distribution systems, jetties, piers, wharves, highways, bridges, tunnels, subways, viaducts, hospitals, dispensaries, sanitariums, markets, warehouses, city and town halls, courthouses, fire and police stations, jails, libraries, sanitary sewer systems, drainage improvements, garbage and rubbish disposal plants, public buildings, sewage disposal plants, storm sewer systems, terminals, water supply and distribution systems, filtration plants, and other similar projects.

(2) *Slum Clearance and Low-cost Housing Projects*: Projects

Jurisdictions of P.W.A. and W.P.A.

of a type heretofore carried on by the Housing Division of the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works.

PART III

Applications shall be submitted to the Works Progress Administration for:

(1) *Non-construction Projects*: Projects of a type designed to assure maximum employment principally to professional, clerical and white collar classes.

(2) *Small Works Projects*: Projects of any type where the aggregate cost upon completion is estimated to be \$25,000 or less.

(3) *Other Works Projects*: All other projects, regardless of cost, except those referred to in Part II above.

Examples of such projects are: recreational facilities, parks, playgrounds, small dams, ditches, street repairs, demolition, malaria control, pest extermination, airports, sidewalks, gutters and curbs, levee work, landscaping, grading, farm-to-market roads, reservoirs, swimming pools and similar projects.

PART IV

Applications rejected by the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works shall be submitted immediately to the Works Progress Administration.

PART V

All applications for loans shall be submitted to the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works.

PART VI

This statement shall not govern applications involving projects falling within the jurisdiction of any other Federal agency.

Federal Emergency Administrator of Public Works, Harold

L. Ickes

Works Progress Administrator, Harry L. Hopkins

Executive Director, National Emergency Council, Frank C. Walker

National Labor Relations Act

Approved:

Franklin D. Roosevelt

(For a statement of the projects and accomplishments of W.P.A. and P.W.A. during my first Administration, see note to Item 240, Vol. V.)

90 ¶ Presidential Statement upon Signing
National Labor Relations Act. July 5, 1935

THIS Act defines, as a part of our substantive law, the right of self-organization of employees in industry for the purpose of collective bargaining, and provides methods by which the Government can safeguard that legal right. It establishes a National Labor Relations Board to hear and determine cases in which it is charged that this legal right is abridged or denied, and to hold fair elections to ascertain who are the chosen representatives of employees.

A better relationship between labor and management is the high purpose of this Act. By assuring the employees the right of collective bargaining it fosters the development of the employment contract on a sound and equitable basis. By providing an orderly procedure for determining who is entitled to represent the employees, it aims to remove one of the chief causes of wasteful economic strife. By preventing practices which tend to destroy the independence of labor, it seeks, for every worker within its scope, that freedom of choice and action which is justly his.

The National Labor Relations Board will be an independent quasi-judicial body. It should be clearly understood that it will not act as mediator or conciliator in labor disputes. The function of mediation remains, under this Act, the duty of the Secretary of Labor and of the Conciliation Service of the Department of Labor. It is important that the judicial function and the mediation function should not be confused. Compromise, the essence of mediation, has no place in the interpretation and enforcement of the law.

National Labor Relations Act

This Act, defining rights, the enforcement of which is recognized by the Congress to be necessary as an act of both common justice and economic advance, must not be misinterpreted. It may eventually eliminate one major cause of labor disputes, but it will not stop all labor disputes. It does not cover all industry and labor, but is applicable only when violation of the legal right of independent self-organization would burden or obstruct interstate commerce. Accepted by management, labor and the public with a sense of sober responsibility and of willing cooperation, however, it should serve as an important step toward the achievement of just and peaceful labor relations in industry.

NOTE: The National Labor Relations Act (Pub. No. 198, 74th Congress; 49 Stat. 449) was the result of the cumulative experience of many years with various methods of Government dealing with labor relations, which extended as far back as 1888 when the Congress provided for the investigation of railroad labor disputes threatening to interrupt interstate commerce. In more recent years, since March 4, 1933, there had been the experience of the National Labor Board (see Items 109 and 182 of Vol. II) and the First National Labor Relations Board (see Item 118A, Vol. III, and Item 77, this volume), and the various separate labor boards for different industries (see Item 113, Vol. III).

This new statute provides for a new National Labor Relations Board of three members to administer the Act. It again asserts the rights of employees to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. It defines as an

unfair labor practice any act by an employer to interfere with, restrain or coerce employees in the exercise of such rights, or to interfere with labor organizations or discriminate against members thereof, or to refuse to bargain collectively with the representatives of his employees.

The Act was signed by me on July 5, 1935; and on August 24, 1935, the three Board members were confirmed by the Senate.

Under the Act the Board has two main functions: (1) to prevent unfair labor practices affecting interstate commerce; and (2) to investigate any controversy affecting interstate commerce which has arisen concerning the representation of employees and to certify the representatives that have been selected.

About the beginning of October, 1935, after the completion of its organization and the appointment of its staff, the Board began to accept cases. Two types were submitted:

National Labor Relations Act

charges that employers had engaged in one or more of the unfair labor practices designated by the Act; and petitions for investigation and certification of representatives of the employees.

In the 27 months ending December 31, 1937, the National Labor Relations Board handled 11,179 cases, covering 2,997,826 workers. These figures include action on charges of unfair labor practices and petitions for elections received by the Board and its twenty-two Regional Offices.

Seven thousand seven hundred sixty of all cases acted upon, or approximately two-thirds were closed, leaving 3,419 cases pending on January 1, 1938.

Of these 7,760 cases, 4,440 were closed by agreement of both parties, involving 1,046,326 workers.

One thousand one hundred sixty-two cases involving 147,196 workers were dismissed by the Board and Regional Directors before any formal action was taken.

One thousand seven hundred fifty-one cases involving 322,910 workers were withdrawn by the petitioners before such action.

Four hundred and seven cases involving 111,246 workers were closed in some other way, including compliance with the Board's decisions, certifications after elections, refusal by the Board to certify, intermediate report finding no violation, transfer to other agencies such as the Conciliation Service of the Department of Labor and State

Labor Relations Boards, and by the issuance of cease and desist orders.

One thousand two hundred fifty-six strike cases, involving 234,749 workers, were handled, and of these 957 were settled and 165,278 workers were reinstated after strikes or lockouts.

Four hundred eighty-nine threatened strikes, involving 125,243 workers, were averted through the Board's action.

An additional 8,058 workers were reinstated after discriminatory discharge.

There were 948 elections held in which 339,373 valid votes were cast.

An analysis of the causes of complaints shows that 3,581 of the cases which came before the Board and its regional offices in the 27 months of its operations, concerned Section 8(3) of the Act, which makes it an unfair labor practice to discriminate against workers because of their union affiliation or activities. In 2,481 cases the main cause of complaint was based upon Section 8(5) of the Act, the failure of the employer in good faith to bargain collectively with the representatives chosen by the employees to deal with the management.

The Board has received up to December 31, 1937, a total of 3,512 petitions, submitted by a total of 1,210,575 employees, asking either certification of representatives or the holding of elections to determine the bargaining agencies of the employees.

91 ¶ A Frequently Misquoted Letter. July 6, 1935

My dear Mr. Hill:

YOUR sub-committee of the Ways and Means has pending before it H.R. 8479, "A Bill to stabilize the bituminous coal mining industry and promote its interstate commerce," etc., and I understand that questions of the constitutionality of some of its provisions have arisen in the sub-committee.

This industry, from the standpoint of the operators and the miners, has had many years of difficulty. The product is a great natural resource entitled to the consideration of the Congress both as to the conditions under which it is produced and distributed and as to measures which may be taken for its conservation. The deposits are limited to a few States, the consumption is nationwide. Competition and overexpansion have brought destructive price reductions, which have inevitably reacted upon labor standards with a resulting dislocation, restriction and obstruction of interstate commerce and a recurring danger of industrial strife. Circumstances such as these present the strongest possible illustration of how conditions of production directly affect commerce among the States.

Admitting that mining coal, considered separately and apart from its distribution in the flow of interstate commerce, is an intrastate transaction, the constitutionality of the provisions based on the commerce clause of the Constitution depends upon the final conclusion as to whether production conditions directly affect, promote or obstruct interstate commerce in the commodity.

Manifestly, no one is in a position to give assurance that the proposed act will withstand constitutional tests, for the simple fact that you can get not ten but a thousand differing legal opinions on the subject. But the situation is so urgent and the benefits of the legislation so evident that all doubts should be resolved in favor of the bill, leaving to the courts, in an orderly fashion, the ultimate question of constitutionality. A decision by the Supreme Court relative to this measure would be helpful as indi-

A Frequently Misquoted Letter

cating, with increasing clarity, the constitutional limits within which this Government must operate. The proposed bill has been carefully drafted by employers and employees working co-operatively. An opportunity should be given to the industry to attempt to work out some of its major problems. I hope your committee will not permit doubts as to constitutionality, however reasonable, to block the suggested legislation.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Samuel B. Hill,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

NOTE: The last paragraph of the foregoing letter to Congressman Hill should, of course, be read as a whole. When it is, it will be seen that the paragraph merely sets forth the traditional rule which the Courts are supposed to follow in determining whether or not a statute is unconstitutional.

As a matter of fact, in one of the earliest cases in which the Courts assumed power to pass on the constitutionality of statutes (*Ogden vs. Saunders*, 12 Wheat. 213, 270), Mr. Justice Bushrod Washington stated the terms under which that power would be exercised. He said: "It is but a decent respect due to the wisdom, the integrity, and the patriotism of the legislative body by which any law is passed, to presume in favor of its validity until its violation of the Constitution is *proved beyond all reasonable doubt*." (Italics supplied.) See also the Introduction to this volume.

The letter to Congressman Hill was really an understatement of

this rule. During the past two years certain newspaper publishers and columnists have quoted only the last sentence of the letter, taken completely from its text, so as to give a wholly false impression of the letter.

It is perhaps typical of methods now prevalent among certain newspaper owners and publishers.

Even before the advent of the depression which affected all industry and labor, there had been continued bankruptcy, poverty and misery in the coal fields of the United States. In fact there had been such a long history of hard times, unemployment and human want that the public had almost begun to accept such evils as a necessary part of the coal industry.

Frequent investigations had been made by Federal and State Governments and by independent agencies. It was clearly recognized long ago that the only power which could restore the industry to a semblance

Bituminous Coal Conservation Act

of sound economic prosperity and American working standards was the Federal Government. It had been early recognized that if there were to be a constant supply of coal at reasonable prices, a just and reasonable employer and employee relationship, a fair return on the investment of producers and fair wages and working conditions for workers in this industry, there would have to be some type of Federal regulation.

However, nothing was done by the Federal Government until the National Industrial Recovery Act provided the first semblance of prosperity for the industry in many years. That was cut short, however, by the decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring the statute unconstitutional. Since that time, competition from oil and natural gas and water power; increase of freight rates; cut-throat competition; abandonment of decent standards of wages, hours and working conditions; continued waste of the great natural resources of bituminous coal—all of these continued to keep the industry in the same chaotic and disorganized condition.

A comprehensive bill was introduced by Senator Joseph Guffey, of Pennsylvania, for the regulation of the industry. The foregoing letter was in connection with that bill.

The bill was finally passed and was approved by me on August 30, 1935 (the Bituminous Coal Conservation Act of 1935).

The Act provided for a 15 per-

cent tax on all coal sold by producers who did not become members of a code to be promulgated by the Bituminous Coal Commission. The code, which was actually included in the statute itself, and which was eventually promulgated by the Commission without deviation from the statutory language, provided:

- a. That marketing agencies approved by the Commission could market coal cooperatively without being subject to prosecution under the anti-trust laws;
- b. That minimum prices be established by the Commission, in accordance with prescribed procedure;
- c. That certain practices in connection with the sale of coal were to be deemed unfair methods of competition;
- d. That employees should have the right to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing without interference by the employers; and
- e. That whenever maximum hours or minimum wages were agreed upon by the producers of two-thirds of the tonnage and representatives of over one-half of the mine workers in specified areas, these hours and wages should be binding on all code members in such areas.

To State Directors of P.W.A.

Violation of the orders of the Commission was to be penalized by expulsion from code membership or by a cease and desist order; and all orders of the Commission were to be both enforceable and reviewable in the Circuit Courts of Appeals.

The day following the approval of the Act by me the Carter Coal Company brought its suit to have the Act invalidated *in toto*. In May, 1936, the Supreme Court held that the labor provisions of the statute were unconstitutional, and that inasmuch as the price and unfair competition provisions were inseparable from the labor provisions, they also fell. *Carter vs. Carter Coal Co.*, 298 U.S. 236. The Chief Justice and three Associate Justices dissented, all agreeing that the price-fixing provisions were constitutional and that the labor provisions were clearly severable from the remainder of the Act. The basis of the Court's majority decision on separability was that Congress had not intended any of the Act to

stand without the labor provisions. See also the Introduction to this volume.

A new Act, known as the Bituminous Coal Act of 1937, was finally passed on April 26, 1937. The new statute was similar to the old, except that the mandatory labor provisions were replaced by a general statement of public policy and a requirement that the United States do not purchase coal from producers who failed to grant their employees rights substantially the same as those guaranteed by the National Labor Relations Act. In addition, the draftsmen of the new statute changed a number of the procedural provisions of the old in order to avoid constitutional problems raised in the Carter case. Most important of these is a definite limitation of the new statute to sales of coal in or directly affecting interstate commerce, with a procedure by which producers of purely local coal could obtain exemption from the Act.

92 ¶ Informal Extemporaneous Remarks to State Directors of P.W.A. July 9, 1935

I HAVE seen a number of the other State representatives, but not P.W.A. Directors up to this time, and I am glad you came here for this conference. You know, of course, that we have spent a great deal of money during the past two years, but we find now not only that there are additional funds at our disposal but also that the need of permanent work all over the United States is not

To State Directors of P.W.A.

yet ended. We find that the deeper we go into it, the more opportunities we have to do constructive work in almost every community in the country.

You have been pioneers in what is really a new field. It is not merely construction, it is also the coordination of construction to the needs of various parts of the country. I know the obstacles you have had to face, the trying situations you have had to contend with.

As we view that public works program, I think we can take a pardonable pride in what we have done. We have given to the country useful projects of an enduring value. There is no question about that. You know the type of these projects better than anybody else; and I hope you will personally make every effort within your own States to show the people the usefulness and the enduring qualities of the work done.

We are faced by a kind of false information in regard to the expenditure of money. The actual listing of the projects we have worked on and completed or are at work on today—the mere telling to the people what we have accomplished—will dispel the false information that has been given out in many cases. We are going to repay many times over the money we have spent. We have increased the capital assets of the Nation.

The way in which you good people carried on this work is a source of great gratification. One thing we know. It is that we have kept the public works projects free from partisan politics. We have lived up to that obligation, undertaken two years ago, and we believe the money has been wisely, efficiently and honestly expended. The P.W.A. has set up a standard and an example for integrity in administration and disinterested public service.

You are now an important part of an even greater effort—one to be made during the next year which will provide quick employment so that we can attain, if possible, the goal we have set within this year 1935. Before the year is ended, we will end the dole we have been paying to employable persons during the last

To State Directors of P.W.A.

two years. In other words, we must give useful work to three and one-half million people and I believe we are going to do it.

In order to do it, of course, we are faced by a problem of arithmetic which is comparatively simple. We have four billion dollars and three and one-half million people to put to work with it. That means we have to average things up. It means that we have on the average about \$1,140 per man year. That has to include the cost of the material, so that the four billion dollars includes not only the amount we pay the men but also the cost of the material. It is a perfectly simple arithmetical problem — we have to work out an average that will come within the sum of money divided by the number of people we have to put to work.

As you know, the P.W.A. grant has been changed, having been increased from 30 percent of the cost of labor and material involved in the project to 45 percent of the total cost. This means that the way is open for cities and towns and other municipal organizations to join with the Federal Government in getting these workers off the relief rolls. There is quite an incentive — being able to obtain a grant of 45 percent of the project.

Local public bodies willing to put up their share of 55 percent of the total cost of the project must, of course, be given first consideration. Some are going to try to prove to you that they cannot finance their share of the costs and it is up to you to find whether that proof is adequate.

Last week I approved and issued a statement that defines very clearly, I think, what shall be regarded as Public Works Administration projects and what shall be regarded as projects coming within the jurisdiction of the Works Progress Administration.

The importance of cooperative effort on the part of all these agencies of the Government is something we have to keep before us all the time. Besides yourselves, there are representatives of the National Emergency Council and the Works Progress Administration in each of the States. And so, I am asking you to remember that all three of you, the P.W.A. Directors, the National Emergency Council and Works Progress Administration men, are representatives of the Federal Government and that the re-

Greetings to Disabled Veterans

sponsibility for the success of the program in each State, at least in the first instance, is on these three representatives in each State.

While it is a Federal program and the Federal Government is ultimately responsible, the whole effort, of course, will depend in a very large measure upon close cooperation with the local authorities everywhere—Governors, mayors, county officials and other municipal agents.

Remember that speed is of the essence. We want the work done but we want it done now. We don't want it to run over into 1937 and 1938. This money was given to us by the Congress to spend during the fiscal year.

I am glad to have had this opportunity of seeing you and I know that you have important discussions ahead that you are eager to conclude so you can get back to your States. I am very sure that the fine spirit the P.W.A. has shown in the past and the very great success it has had in carrying out what it had undertaken—with efficiency and very definitely with honesty—are going to continue throughout the coming year.

93 ¶ Greetings to the Disabled American Veterans of the World War. July 11, 1935

My dear Commander Mooney:

I AM indeed appreciative of your cordial invitation to attend and address the Fifteenth Annual National Convention of the Disabled American Veterans of the World War to be held at New Haven, Connecticut, July 17-20. I am exceedingly sorry to have to advise you that it will be impossible for me to join you during your convention.

I understand that one of the requirements of your organization is that a man to be eligible for membership must have been disabled in his Nation's service. Your organization being composed of disabled veterans, its purposes, aims and desires assume especial significance and its primary interests become well defined. Such a group as yours becomes especially well qualified

Portrait of King George V

to speak of the needs among our Nation's war disabled, since you can measure those needs through the experience of your own membership. I know in this connection that you have sincerely cooperated with the Government in meeting its recognized obligation and appreciation for the services rendered by our soldiers and sailors during the World War.

Many of you, I know, must bear the visible signs of conflict, and your presence in New Haven or any other city must stand as a living example of the sacrifices made by our citizens during the World War. Certainly, you should be received with open arms and our citizens generally should do all in their power to make your conventions occasions for happy recollections.

From the standpoint of the Government, may I add that there can never be any question but that the war disabled should be adequately compensated, both in the form of compensation and care, for the sacrifices they have made in order not only to meet the debt to them of a grateful Nation, but also to make up for the loss in earning power in our post-war economic structure?

Please extend to your membership meeting in New Haven my personal greetings and my best wishes for a happy and successful convention.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Volney P. Mooney, Jr.,
Disabled American Veterans of the World War,
Cincinnati, Ohio

94 ¶ The President Accepts a Portrait of King George V of Great Britain in Behalf of the American People. July 11, 1935

Mr. Ambassador:

I am happy to accept on behalf of the American people this admirable portrait of His Majesty King George V, which is presented by the artist, Mr. Frank Salisbury.

Religious Status of Americans in Mexico

I have already expressed to Mr. Salisbury my appreciation of his gift but I should be grateful, Mr. Ambassador, if you would tell him of the particular pleasure with which I have actually today received the portrait.

I likewise should be grateful if you would inform His Majesty that the portrait will be hung in the national gallery where it will be seen by great numbers of our citizens who come to Washington from all parts of the United States. It will be a privilege for these citizens to observe the likeness of a monarch whose faithful and steadfast qualities of leadership have aroused so much admiration in this country. The portrait will be a symbol of the many ties which draw together the peoples of our respective Nations.

I thank you, Mr. Ambassador, for your courtesy in coming here personally this morning to present the portrait.

95 ¶ White House Statement on Religious Status of Americans in Mexico. July 16, 1935

THE President stated that he is in entire sympathy with all people who make it clear that the American people and the Government believe in freedom of religious worship not only in the United States, but also in other Nations.

NOTE: On July 16, 1935, a group of members of the House of Representatives presented a petition to me with reference to the religious status of Americans in Mexico. This was actuated by certain action

being taken in Mexico at that time with respect to the Catholic churches. The foregoing statement was published by me with respect to such petition.

96 ¶ A Request for the Extension of the Labor Agreement in the Bituminous Coal Industry.

July 26, 1935

Gentlemen:

I AM appreciative of the continuing efforts of the joint conference between the bituminous operators and the United Mine Workers, now in session, to reach some satisfactory agreement and solution of their problems.

It would be unfortunate if these efforts toward a new contract and agreement were given up, leaving the country to the possible suspension of operation in the bituminous mining industry on August first.

It is highly desirable that this great industry be stabilized, for the advantage to the workers, the operators and the public in general. You are familiar with the progress that is being made in the legislative effort to assist in the stabilization of this industry.

Your existing contract expired on April first of this year and has been renewed under temporary extension at the request of the Government. The third extension expires on August first. Not all of the future problems of the industry have been completely resolved and there is still uncertainty, yet the effect of a suspension of bituminous coal mining is so unfortunate for the whole country, and the prospects of constructive legislation are so substantial, that I am writing to ask you again to extend the present contract for a further period up until September 16th.

Certainly by that time the situation will be clarified and you will be in a better position to renew your joint negotiations.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. D. C. Kennedy, Chairman,
Mr. Thomas Kennedy, Secretary,
Appalachian Joint Conference of Operators and Miners,
Washington, D. C.

Plattsburg Citizens' Training Regiment

NOTE: The agreement between the operators and miners had expired on March 31, 1935, and it began to look as if negotiations between them for a new wage and hour contract would fail. The miners were asking for a thirty-hour week and for wage increases averaging about 10 percent. The operators were willing only to extend the existing wage and hour scale in effect, until April 1, 1936. The miners had already granted three extensions of the contract in order to give the Congress time to act on the Guffey Coal Bill (see Item 91, this volume) then pending which was aimed at the stabilization of the bituminous coal industry.

The foregoing letter was written by me to the Chairman and Secretary of the Joint Conference of Operators and Miners, requesting them further to extend their contract pending the enactment of the legislation. The Guffey Coal Bill was approved August 30, 1935, and on September 26, 1935, an agreement was signed for a period of eighteen months beginning October 1, 1935. This new agreement, which was thus concluded after seven months' negotiation, provided increased rates for mine workers, but continued the thirty-five-hour week in force under the previous agreement which had expired on March 31, 1935.

97 ¶ A Greeting to the Reunion of the First Plattsburg Citizens' Training Regiment.

July 24, 1935

I AM grateful for the opportunity to extend my greetings to the veterans of the First Plattsburg Training Regiment on the occasion of their reunion.

Twenty years ago several hundred citizens went to Plattsburg Barracks, New York, to participate voluntarily, and at their own expense, in training for military service. These men foresaw clearly the probability of our becoming involved in the great war then devastating Europe. They realized that the United States was woefully unprepared for war. With a spirit of patriotic self-sacrifice the Plattsburg volunteers offered themselves to their country and started the movement that provided the Nation with much of its trained leadership during the World War.

The Plattsburg movement spread throughout the land. Numerous camps were held the following year, and in 1917 and

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1918, the experience gained at Plattsburg proved invaluable in the operation of the various officers' training camps. During the War, Plattsburg veterans served with marked distinction, many of them gallantly leading our citizen soldiers in some of the fiercest actions that marked the struggle. Some of them gave their lives to their country.

The spirit of Plattsburg did not die with the Armistice. The Reserve Officers' Training Corps of our schools and colleges and the Citizens' Military Training Camps are direct descendants of the old Plattsburg Training Regiment of 1915.

The veterans who are gathering at Plattsburg symbolize the finest in American patriotism. They furnish a shining example for American youth that time will not dim. The people of the United States will not forget their outstanding service.

I am sure your reunion will be a particularly pleasant one, with old friendships renewed and old battles refought. I hope that all of the veterans will attend many more reunions and will continue in peace to furnish that same splendid leadership that characterized their military service.

(This letter was read at the reunion at Plattsburg, N. Y., July 30, 1935.)

98 ¶ Reorganization of Consumers' Agencies. Executive Order No. 7120. July 30, 1935

BY VIRTUE of and pursuant to the authority vested in me by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, approved April 8, 1935 (Public Resolution No. 11, 74th Congress), and by Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act (48 Stat. 195) as amended by Senate Joint Resolution No. 113, approved June 14, 1935 (Public Resolution No. 26, 74th Congress), it is ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. The office of Adviser on Consumers' Problems is hereby re-created, and the Adviser shall be a member of the National Emergency Council. Walton H. Hamilton is hereby appointed Adviser on Consumers' Problems.

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SECTION 2. A Consumers' Division is hereby established within the National Recovery Administration, the function and purpose of which Division shall be to stimulate interest in the problems of the consumer, to review public policy in so far as it relates to the consumer, and in general to suggest ways and means to promote larger and more economical production of useful goods and facilitate the maintenance and betterment of the American standard of living. The Director of the Consumers' Division shall further define objectives, plan a program of activities including research and the dissemination of information, choose a technical and administrative staff, and subject to the approval of the Administrator of the National Recovery Administration, supervise the activities of the Division. Walton H. Hamilton is hereby appointed Director of the Consumers' Division of the National Recovery Administration.

SECTION 3. The functions heretofore performed by the Consumers' Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration, the Consumers' Division of the National Emergency Council, and the Cabinet Committee on Price Policy are hereby transferred to the Consumers' Division of the National Recovery Administration. The supervision of the work of the Consumers' County Councils is hereby transferred from the Consumers' Division of the National Emergency Council to the Consumers' Division of the National Recovery Administration. All records of the said organizations are hereby transferred to the Consumers' Division of the National Recovery Administration. . . .

SECTION 6. All orders and regulations heretofore issued concerning the administration of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act are hereby modified to the extent necessary to make this order fully effective.

NOTE: The foregoing Executive Order was a step extending the policy of the Administration with respect to protecting consumers (see Vol. III, Item 11). It set up a Consumers' Division in N.R.A. and transferred to it all the functions performed by the Consumers Advisory Board of N.R.A. (see Vol. III, Item 11) and the Consumers' Division of the National Emergency Council which had been created to

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encourage the organization of consumers to obtain information on Government activities of interest to consumers and to acquaint the Government with the facts regarding local consumer problems. To this new Consumers' Division were given all the powers set forth in Section II of the Executive Order.

The Executive Order also created the office of President's Adviser on Consumer Problems, to be a member of the National Emergency Council. His functions were to review public policy in so far as it related to consumers and to suggest ways and means to promote a more economical production of useful goods and to facilitate the maintenance and betterment of the American standard of living.

When N.R.A. was terminated on December 21, 1935, by Executive Order No. 7252, the position of President's Adviser on Consumers' Problems was terminated and the Consumers' Division was transferred with all of its officers, files and records, to the Department of Labor.

Although the Consumers' Division in the Department of Labor was terminated as such on April 1, 1936, there was established on the same date a Consumers' Project as a W.P.A. project attached to the Department of Labor. That project has now been terminated.

In addition to the foregoing agencies which were created by Executive Orders, there was also created by the Bituminous Coal Com-

mission Act of 1935 a Consumers' Counsel for the protection of consumers in connection with the National Bituminous Coal Commission.

The National Resources Board also undertook a profound and comprehensive survey of the consumption needs and habits of the Nation.

The foregoing agencies and their predecessors were the direct instrumentalities and agencies adopted by the Administration to protect consumer interests in the formulation of policy and in the administration of laws affecting the production and distribution of goods. They were also used to make available, and encourage the dissemination of, information which would aid consumers to obtain the greatest possible values in their individual purchases.

Administrative protection of the consumer was further promoted by two indirect methods, both with the objective of preventing excessive costs for the necessities of living.

First was the support of cooperative organizations. The Administration encouraged the passage of the Federal Credit Union Act of 1934, and through the Farm Credit Administration has sent into industrial centers advisers who aid in the organization of credit unions. Federal Credit Unions, now being organized at the rate of more than one hundred a month, are agencies through which consumers can co-

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operate to pool their savings to cover day-to-day emergencies.

Through the Farm Credit Administration, the Administration has established a Central Bank for Cooperatives and twelve Regional Banks for Cooperatives to extend financial aid to farmers' purchasing, as well as marketing, activities. More than 1,300 cooperatives in all parts of the country have obtained loans from these banks. Until the Farm Credit Act of 1933, Federal credit aid to cooperatives was available only for marketing purposes.

Through the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and later through the Works Progress Administration, the Administration has granted funds and aid in establishing self-help cooperative associations for the barter of goods and services. Some of these cooperatives are now going concerns, independent of Government aid.

Through the Works Progress Administration, the Government has collaborated with farm and other organizations in training teachers in the history, principles and methods of consumer cooperation. Through the Resettlement Administration, it has made available services of specialists to resettled communities wishing to organize consumer cooperatives.

Through the Rural Electrification Administration, the Administration has aided in the formation of consumer cooperatives among the rural population for the purchase of electrical power.

The second way in which the Administration has made further significant contribution to the up-building of consumers' purchasing power has been its major attacks on the problem of reducing costs of production and distribution.

Through the Home Owners Loan Corporation, the Administration has placed the facilities of the Government behind a program of reducing the cost of, and interest on, mortgages. Through the Farm Credit Act, it has reduced exorbitant interest rates paid by farmers, and has made the payment of debts easier. Through the Railroad Administration, it has obtained the cooperation of the railroads in a broad program of rate reduction. By developing a yardstick of electric-power rates through the Tennessee Valley Authority and other hydro-electric development projects, the Administration has made a notable contribution to the problem of reducing the costs of electrical power. Through the Public Utility Holding Company Act it has induced the lowering of electric and gas rates to the consumer.

These are typical instances of cases where the Government itself has brought prices down without at the same time overburdening the industry itself or permitting the exploitation of labor by the industry.

Thus on four fronts, the Administration has fostered, promoted and developed policies which would "secure to the consumer fair

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value, honest sales, and a decreased spread": (1) in establishing agencies in Government to represent the consumer interest in the determination of policy and in the administration of laws affecting the production and distribution of goods; (2) in making available and encouraging the dissemination of informa-

tion which would aid consumers in their individual purchases to get the greatest possible values; (3) in encouraging and aiding in the collective purchase of goods and services; and (4) in encouraging by example and by direct aid the reduction in costs of production and distribution.

99 ¶ The Two Hundred and Twenty-fifth Press Conference (Excerpts). July 31, 1935

(Tax message to the Congress — Tax evasion and tax avoidance.)

Q. Mr. President, is there anything you can tell us about the tax situation, generally? You had a conference last night with Secretary Morgenthau and a few more of them.

THE PRESIDENT: I have been talking with the Treasury in regard to the data that relate in general terms to the tax measure before the Congress and of course relate also in general terms to the tax message that I sent up. (See Item 83, this volume.) I got a good deal of information yesterday and I still have more coming.

There are a few things yesterday that came out clearly that I think are of some interest. They seem to be taken from the records of the Treasury. I am not ready to say anything yet about the policy or the theory of the graduated corporation tax any more than I have already said in my message, or about the intercorporate dividend tax, at this particular moment, but there are one or two things that came out yesterday that are of interest.

For instance, it appears that the 58 thriftiest people in the United States (*laughter*)—the 58 thriftiest people in the United States—and of course we are all in favor of thrift, the thriftier you are the nearer you will come to being included among the 58—in 1932 they were all so thrifty that although

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they had a million dollars income a year or more, they paid no tax whatever to the Federal Government on 37 percent of their net incomes.

Q. Is that individually or as an average?

THE PRESIDENT: The aggregate of the 58. On 37 percent of their net incomes they escaped taxation altogether, largely because the investments were in municipal or State or Government tax-exempt bonds. Thirty-seven percent escaped taxation altogether.

Furthermore, it turned up in the figures that one family in this country had 197 family trusts. They are a very thrifty family. Of course it is very easy to demonstrate that one of the primary purposes of these 197 family trusts in this one family was to reduce their taxes through the reduction and splitting up of income into a great many parts, thereby avoiding or greatly reducing the surtaxes. That family trust method, in the case of that one family, cost the Government of the United States a very large sum of money. I just jotted these things down because they seemed rather interesting.

Q. Will this bill get at the family trust point?

THE PRESIDENT: No, not at the family trust business. It does not touch that except that it does increase the surtaxes.

Q. Won't that tend to increase the number of such trusts?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Won't that tend to increase the number of such trusts in the future if there is no provision against it in the bill?

THE PRESIDENT: It could. It is a form of tax avoidance. There is a very great distinction between tax evasion and tax avoidance. Tax avoidance means that you hire a \$250,000-fee lawyer, and he changes the word "evasion" into the word "avoidance." . . .

Let me see, there were some other things in here. Another rather interesting thing came out. While the gift tax legislation was in the process of going through the Congress in 1932, in other words during the two months before it was actually signed, one taxpayer transferred approximately one hundred

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million dollars in tax-free gifts, and another taxpayer transferred approximately fifty million dollars in tax-free gifts. That is what they call beating the gun.

Q. Can you tell us the name of that family? (*Laughter*)

THE PRESIDENT: Do you want me to violate the law?

Then there was another example of the use of gifts. A \$100,000,000 estate was reduced within two years of death by gifts to approximately \$8,000,000. There is a very interesting decision which you might look at, if you are very curious and want some very interesting information. It is the famous gift-tax decision of the Supreme Court in 1931, and I call your attention especially to the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Stone. (*Heiner v. Donnan* 285 U. S. 312, 332) It was a divided Court, if you will remember, in that case; and a majority of the Court held that the law that said that gifts made within two years of death should be presumed to have been given in anticipation of death was unconstitutional. Mr. Justice Stone wrote the dissenting opinion, and there are some very extraordinary citations in that opinion of actual evasions. There were two men who gave away a large proportion of their property when they were over ninety years old. The Supreme Court held that that could not be held by Congress to be in anticipation of death. There was another man eighty-five years old and there were several others between eighty and eighty-five and of course a large number in the seventies.

Well, of course it seems to me that is a question of common sense. Anybody can make his own deductions as to whether people in their eighties and nineties who give away their property by gift do so in anticipation of death or not. It is a plain rule of common sense; but they are very interesting opinions, both the majority opinion and the dissenting opinion — they are worth reading. . . .

Q. Let us use quotation marks on the "58 thriftiest people in the United States."

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I think so. I think it is all right.

100 ¶ The Federal Government Helps Flood Relief in New York State. July 31, 1935

Reurtel yesterday. In order to get around the difficulty of using persons in the civilian conservation corps on private ground in flood area the Federal Emergency Relief Administration have worked out arrangements whereby transients and other persons on relief will be concentrated in that area. I am informed by Aubrey Williams, acting for Mr. Hopkins, that fifteen hundred persons are being moved to the area this morning and that one thousand more are on their way. This action is authorized by the following telegram to Frederick I. Daniels: "This is your authority for employment of transients now on relief in the distressed areas New York caused by recent flood. These persons are to be paid while engaged in this work at the regular going rate paid to the persons employed from relief work engaged in similar labor." I sincerely hope that this will fully meet the situation.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Honorable Herbert Lehman,
State Capitol,
Albany, New York.

NOTE: The foregoing is an example of the usefulness of men on work relief in giving help to areas visited by flood and other disasters.

101 ¶ Presidential Statement on Hope for Peace in Ethiopia. August 1, 1935

AT THIS moment, when the Council of the League of Nations is assembled to consider ways for composing by pacific means the differences that have arisen between Italy and Ethiopia, I wish to voice the hope of the people and the Government of the United States that an amicable solution will be found and that peace will be maintained.

102 ¶ Two White House Statements (August 7, 31, 1935) and Three Executive Orders (Nos. 7126, August 5, 1935; 7150, August 19, 1935; 7174, September 4, 1935) Placing Certain Additional Agencies under the Supervision of the Bureau of the Budget.

Under the terms of an Executive Order (No. 7126) signed by the President, seven agencies, with operations which do not come under the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921, are requested to submit to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget estimates covering future expenditures for administrative purposes. The seven agencies affected by the order are the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, the Home Owners Loan Corporation, the Federal Savings and Loan System, the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, the Federal Housing Administration, the Farm Credit Administration, and the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation.

The agencies are not to incur, from and after September 15, 1935, any obligations for administrative expenses not approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget. The Director of the Bureau of the Budget is directed to apportion funds for administrative expenses to each of the agencies named on a monthly basis, subject to modification in the event of emergency.

Executive Order No. 7126 follows:

BY VIRTUE of and pursuant to the authority vested in me as President of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. The Federal Home Loan Bank Board, the Home Owners Loan Corporation, the Federal Savings and Loan System, the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, the Federal Housing Administration, the Farm Credit Administration, and the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation, which have available for expenditure funds, estimates for expenditure of which are not required under the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921, to

Additional Agencies under Budget

be submitted to the Bureau of the Budget, are requested to submit to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, at such times and in such manner as he shall prescribe, estimates of amounts to be expended for each fiscal year from such funds for administrative expenses. The aforesaid agencies and instrumentalities are requested not to incur, from and after September 15, 1935, any obligation for administrative expenses out of any such funds unless estimates for such expenditures shall have been approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget. . . .

The Executive Order signed by the President on August 5, 1935, requesting seven agencies, with operations which do not come under the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921, to submit to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget estimates covering future expenditures for administrative purposes, has been amended to make its provisions applicable to six additional agencies. These agencies are the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Federal Surplus Relief Administration, the Export-Import Bank of Washington, the Second Export-Import Bank of Washington, D. C., the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Electric Home and Farm Authority.

The provisions of the Executive Order of August 5, 1935, that the agencies named therein are not to incur, from and after September 15, 1935, any obligations for administrative expenses not approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget are made applicable to the agencies covered by the amended order from and after October 1, 1935.

Executive Order No. 7150 follows:

EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 7126 of August 5, 1935, entitled "Submission to the Bureau of the Budget of Estimates of Expenditures for Administrative Expenses in Certain Cases," is hereby amended so as to make its provisions applicable in all respects to the following-named additional agencies and instrumentalities of the United States, except that the provisions of the last sentence of paragraph one of the said Order shall be applicable to the additional agencies and instrumentalities named herein from and after October 1, 1935, instead of September 15, 1935:

Additional Agencies under Budget

1. Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation
2. Federal Surplus Relief Administration
3. Export-Import Bank of Washington
4. Second Export-Import Bank of Washington, D. C.
5. Reconstruction Finance Corporation
6. Electric Home and Farm Authority.

Executive Order No. 7174 follows:

EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 7126 of August 5, 1935, entitled "Submission to the Bureau of the Budget of Estimates of Expenditures for Administrative Expenses in Certain Cases," as amended by Executive Order No. 7150 of August 19, 1935, is hereby further amended so as to make its provisions applicable in all respects to the following-named additional agencies and instrumentalities of the United States, except that the provisions of the last sentence of paragraph one of the said order shall be applicable to the additional agencies and instrumentalities named herein from and after October 15, 1935, instead of September 15, 1935:

1. Agricultural Adjustment Administration
2. Commodity Credit Corporation
3. Federal Coordinator of Transportation
4. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works
5. Federal Emergency Relief Administration
6. National Recovery Administration
7. Tennessee Valley Authority.

NOTE: The foregoing Executive Orders resulted in a reduction by the Bureau of the Budget in the estimates submitted of approximately \$18,000,000 in the fiscal year 1936, \$13,000,000 in the fiscal year 1937, and \$19,000,000 in the fiscal year 1938.

103 ¶ A Recommendation to the Congress to
Approve the State Compact to Conserve Oil and
Gas. August 9, 1935

To the Congress:

I TRANSMIT herewith a certified copy of the State Compact to Conserve Oil and Gas, executed in the City of Dallas, Texas, on February 16, 1935, by the representatives of the States of Oklahoma, Texas, California, and New Mexico, and recommended for ratification by representatives of the States of Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, Kansas, and Michigan. The Compact signed by representatives of these States has been deposited in the Department of State of the United States. I also transmit a report of the Secretary of State, from which you will observe that notification has been received by the Department of State of the ratification of the Compact by the legislatures of the States of New Mexico, Kansas, Oklahoma, Illinois, Colorado, and Texas.

I recommend that the Congress enact legislation, giving the consent of Congress to the State Compact to Conserve Oil and Gas, executed at Dallas, Texas, on February 16, 1935.

NOTE: Congressional approval including the efforts to regulate was given by Joint Resolution 407, them by State compact, see Vol. II, 49 Stat. 939. For a discussion of Items 30, 62, 95, 95A; Vol. III, Item the conditions in the oil industry, 90; Vol. IV, Items 21 and 68.

104 ¶ White House Statement on Signing Motor
Carrier Act. August 9, 1935

THE Motor Carrier Act which the President signed today provides the first regulation of such carriers undertaken by the Federal Government. It applies to all common and contract carriers engaged in the interstate transportation of passengers or property, but, except in one important particular, exempts vehicles used exclusively in carrying livestock, fish, or agricultural com-

Motor Carrier Act

modities or in the distribution of newspapers. There is a specific exemption of vehicles controlled and operated by farm co-operative associations. Persons who engage only casually or occasionally in transporting passengers or property for compensation and carriers which operate only within metropolitan areas are conditionally exempted. Regulation is also provided for brokers, or those who arrange for transportation but do not themselves provide motor transportation service.

The Act requires common carriers to secure certificates of public convenience and necessity before they may operate, but these are given as of right to such carriers as were in bona fide operation on June 1, 1935. Contract carriers are to secure permits, but those in operation on July 1, 1935, may receive such permits upon application and a showing of bona fide operation. Brokers must secure a license, requiring, among other things, adequate proof of financial responsibility.

Common carriers are required to establish just and reasonable rates and are forbidden to discriminate in their rates or service. Their rates may be regulated as to both maximum and minimum. In keeping with the different character of their operations, contract carriers are subject to only minimum rate regulation. Considerable latitude is given in the regulation of such carriers.

Other matters made subject to regulation are the consolidation or merger of properties, the issuance of securities, and the financial responsibility of the operators. Appropriate reports may be required from motor carriers and brokers and their accounts may be prescribed.

All carriers, including those which are otherwise exempted, are made subject to regulation with respect to the qualifications and maximum hours of service of their employees and the safety of their operations and equipment.

The administration of the regulation provided in this act is entrusted to the Interstate Commerce Commission, but provision is made for extensive utilization of the trained personnel of the States through the use of joint boards to be created, generally, from the membership of the State Commissions. The act pro-

To the Cuban Social and Economic Union

vides assurance against interference with the exercise by the States of full authority over intra-state transportation.

The Act becomes effective October 1st, but the Commission may postpone the effective date of any of its provisions to a time not later than April 1, 1936.

(See Item 71 of this volume.)

105 ¶ Informal Extemporaneous Remarks to the Cuban Ambassador and the President of the Social and Economic Union of Cuba. August 12, 1935

I AM not only gratified but very much touched at your coming here. It is a splendid thing for you to do, and it proves that something that we have always wanted has worked out.

One has an ideal and wants to put it into effect. We tried two and a half years ago to establish a principle—a principle that two Nations, side by side, ought to be good neighbors. The next thing we did was to try to work out some practical demonstration of the value of the policy of the good neighbor.

People said that a trade agreement would not accomplish anything, that a trade agreement would not work; but we put it through. The proof of the pudding is in the eating.

What pleases me particularly is that the economic revival in Cuba has come so quickly, even more quickly than we hoped when the trade agreement was signed. From all I hear from friends in Cuba and from you, the improvement in economic conditions is not merely at the top, but it extends down. Wages are better, and you have a better purchasing power. It is a very, very fine thing.

Some day I am not only coming to Havana, but I am going into the interior of the country. I used to know it in the old days, twenty years ago.

The Electric Home and Farm Authority

NOTE: The foregoing remarks were made informally by me in response to the greetings of the Cuban Ambassador, Dr. Guillermo Patterson, and of the President of the Social-Economic Union of Cuba, Señor José Manuel Casanova, on the occasion of a visit of a commission of the Social-Economic Union of Cuba to Washington from August 12 to August 16, 1935.

The Social-Economic Union of Cuba is an organization, entirely unofficial and non-political in character, composed of representatives of Cuban labor, capital, agriculture and industry, and, in general, of all organizations concerned with economic activity in Cuba. It was formed in February, 1935, following a meeting of representative Cubans who considered it desirable to create a permanent body to cooperate with the United States in carrying out the provisions of the Cuban-American Reciprocal Trade Agreement of 1934 (see Item 33,

Vol. III) and the United States sugar legislation (see Items 21 and 76, Vol. III), which together have resulted in great advantage both to the United States and to Cuba.

The Commission came to Washington to express the appreciation of the Cuban people for the policy of economic cooperation adopted by the Government of the United States, and to explore through informal discussion both with American officials and with representatives of American trade and labor organizations the possibilities of rendering that cooperation yet more effective.

They were received by me on the day of arrival (August 12, 1935), and were also received during their stay in Washington by the Secretaries of State and of Agriculture and by various other officials of the Government, and by representatives of American trade and labor organizations in their particular fields of interest.

106 ¶ The Jurisdiction of the Electric Home and Farm Authority Is Extended. Executive Order No. 7139. August 12, 1935

I HEREBY designate the Electric Home and Farm Authority, a corporation organized under the laws of the District of Columbia, as an agency of the United States, to continue, in so far as permitted by its certificate of incorporation, the functions of, and to carry on the business hitherto engaged in by, Electric Home and

The Electric Home and Farm Authority

Farm Authority, Inc., a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Delaware.

The direction included in Executive Order No. 6514, of December 19, 1933, that the outstanding stock of the Electric Home and Farm Authority, Inc., a corporation organized under the laws of Delaware, be voted by the Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority, is hereby rescinded, and I hereby direct that the outstanding stock of the said Electric Home and Farm Authority, Inc., be voted jointly by the trustees of the Electric Home and Farm Authority, a corporation organized under the laws of the District of Columbia.

NOTE: The Electric Home and Farm Authority was originally created for the Tennessee Valley (see Item 184 of Vol. II) in order to help people living within that area to buy, on reasonable instalment terms, large electrical appliances, such as refrigerators, washing machines and farm machinery which the average consumer of electricity is not able to purchase for cash. In that way the Government helped bring to the average man and woman the full benefits of cheaper electricity.

The Authority was so successful in the Tennessee Valley and received such full cooperation from private utilities, municipal electricity plants, and rural electrical cooperatives that its powers and jurisdiction were extended by the foregoing Executive Order. It was authorized to carry on its activities in all parts of the United States. The Authority has extended its operations through twenty different States in well-distributed areas

served by private, municipal and farm cooperative utilities. In this way it has been able to show all sections of the Nation the possibilities of a cheaper method of distributing electrical appliances and electric power through cooperation between Government and private enterprise.

By subsequent acts of the Congress (Public No. 484, 74th Congress, March 31, 1936; and Public No. 2, 75th Congress, January 26, 1937), the Authority was specifically empowered to continue its operations until June 30, 1939.

By June 30, 1937, the Authority had approved 137 manufacturers of electrical appliances, 1101 retail dealers, and 99 cooperating power utilities of many kinds operating in twenty States. It had purchased about 35,000 instalment contracts with a total face value of over five million dollars, and was operating at a net profit on its original capital without further appropriation. The

The Social Security Act

“yardstick” of the credit terms of instalment credit terms all over the country in favor of the ultimate purchaser.

107 ¶ Presidential Statement upon Signing the Social Security Act. August 14, 1935

TODAY a hope of many years' standing is in large part fulfilled. The civilization of the past hundred years, with its startling industrial changes, has tended more and more to make life insecure. Young people have come to wonder what would be their lot when they came to old age. The man with a job has wondered how long the job would last.

This social security measure gives at least some protection to thirty millions of our citizens who will reap direct benefits through unemployment compensation, through old-age pensions and through increased services for the protection of children and the prevention of ill health.

We can never insure one hundred percent of the population against one hundred percent of the hazards and vicissitudes of life, but we have tried to frame a law which will give some measure of protection to the average citizen and to his family against the loss of a job and against poverty-ridden old age.

This law, too, represents a cornerstone in a structure which is being built but is by no means complete. It is a structure intended to lessen the force of possible future depressions. It will act as a protection to future Administrations against the necessity of going deeply into debt to furnish relief to the needy. The law will flatten out the peaks and valleys of deflation and of inflation. It is, in short, a law that will take care of human needs and at the same time provide for the United States an economic structure of vastly greater soundness.

I congratulate all of you ladies and gentlemen, all of you in the Congress, in the executive departments and all of you who come

The Social Security Act

from private life, and I thank you for your splendid efforts in behalf of this sound, needed and patriotic legislation.

If the Senate and the House of Representatives in this long and arduous session had done nothing more than pass this Bill, the session would be regarded as historic for all time.

NOTE: The Social Security Act was primarily designed to provide the average worker with some assurance that when cycles of unemployment come or when his working days are over, he will have enough money to live decently.

The Democratic National Platform of 1932 stated: "We advocate unemployment and old-age insurance under State laws."

While the amounts provided in the Act do not give the amount of insurance and protection which I should like to see, it is a definite beginning along the proper road. It is a step which should have been taken in America a generation ago as it has been taken in other countries.

The Act also relates to the following problems, in addition to unemployment compensation and old-age security: aid to dependent children, maternal and child welfare services, aid to the blind, extension of public health services, vocational rehabilitation.

As to unemployment compensation the plan of the Act is to establish a cooperative Federal-State system. The Act levies a Federal tax on total payrolls of all employers (with certain exceptions) equal to 1 percent in 1936, 2 percent in 1937, and 3 percent thereafter. It allows,

however, to employers a credit of 90 percent against such tax for any contributions made by them to any State unemployment insurance fund approved by the Social Security Board which administers the Act. The purpose of this is to insure substantial uniformity of unemployment insurance plans among the various States and invite all the respective States to legislate in this field. In order further to encourage the States to cooperate, the Act provides that grants may be made to the States to enable them to meet all proper administrative costs in providing unemployment insurance.

As to old-age security, there are two separate provisions: (1) The Act provides for grants of money to States to help them meet the cost of old-age pensions allowed under State laws to old people in need of relief. The grants are to match the amount contributed by the State, with a maximum Federal contribution of \$15.00 per month for each individual plus a small amount for administrative purposes. (2) The statute also provides for a tax for old-age insurance to be levied in equal amounts upon all employers and employees (with a few exceptions) commencing at 1 percent and gradually increasing to

Coordination of Federal Health Activities

3 percent each. Out of these taxes the Federal Government will pay a definite amount of money as a retirement pension commencing January 1, 1942, ranging from a minimum of \$10.00 per month to \$85.00 per month, depending upon the number of working years during which the employee has contributed, to retired individuals 65 years of age and over.

The Act also authorizes grants to the States to assist them in relief to dependent children and blind persons. To obtain this Federal assistance each State must submit a plan conforming to certain standards established by the Act, and the Board must approve the plan. The grants for aid to the blind are on an equal matching basis with each State, but

the Federal cost is not to exceed \$15.00 per month for each individual plus a small amount for administrative purposes. Grants for dependent children are authorized on the basis of \$1.00 Federal money for each \$2.00 spent by the State.

The Social Security Act has been declared constitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States in the cases of *Helvering vs. Davis*, 301 U.S. 619 and *Steward Machine Co. vs. Davis*, 301 U.S. 548 (1937). It is the foundation upon which we hope in America to provide a real form of financial security for workers, so that the spectre of unemployment and old-age destitution may be banished from the American home and farm.

108 ¶ Presidential Statement on Appointment of Interdepartmental Committee for Coordination of Federal Health Activities. August 15, 1935

IN VIEW of the passage and signing of the Social Security Bill there is increasing necessity for better coordination of the health activities of the Federal Government. I am, therefore, creating at this time an Interdepartmental Committee to give attention to this subject. As members of this Committee I have appointed the following Government officials: Josephine Roche, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Chairman; Oscar Chapman, Assistant Secretary of the Interior; M. L. Wilson, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, and A. J. Altmeyer, Second Assistant Secretary of Labor.

I am directing this Committee to include within the scope of

National Youth Administration Directors

its work not only health activities, but closely related welfare activities as well. As its immediate task, I am instructing this Committee to assume responsibility for the appointment of special committees to be composed of physicians and other technically trained persons within the Government service to study and make recommendations concerning specific aspects of the Government's health activities.

I am confident that this procedure will facilitate the consummation of a series of appropriate cooperative agreements between the various departments of the Government. I am also hopeful that in this way we can eventually bring about a complete coordination of the Government's activities in the health field.

109 ¶ Informal Extemporaneous Remarks to
State Directors of the National Youth Adminis-
tration. August 20, 1935

I AM glad to see this particular group. We have been looking forward to the initiation of this youth program for a great many years. In previous days groups used to come down here to talk about education, child welfare and various things like that. They had very interesting discussions and they passed very nice resolutions. Later the whole proceedings were bound up and distributed around the country. Everybody went home; and little, if anything, resulted from these efforts.

Our procedure is different. We have asked you here to start something. We have given you fifty million dollars. It is the first time the Federal Government has attempted a great national project of this kind. It is an experiment, but we are going to get something more than mere resolutions out of it. We are going to get action.

It is up to you to see that action is effectively carried out. I am very glad that we have such a fine personnel to start this

Utility Holding Company Bill

work. As you know, a very large portion of the money is going to be used to enable boys and girls to carry on their education — boys and girls who could not otherwise do it. But there is also a large amount, very nearly half, set aside for other types of work such as vocational training, the building of playgrounds and the establishment of forums in various places.

The future is going to depend on the success of the experiment. If the experiment is a success, there is not much doubt in my mind that future Congresses will continue the work. For that very reason, therefore, you have a very great responsibility. The success of the program depends, in large part, on all of you. You are building for the future, not only for the coming year.

Figures show that there are more than 2,900,000 young people in families on relief and of these 2,900,000, 1,700,000 are on relief in urban areas and 1,200,000 are on relief in rural areas. In addition to that, out of the total of 2,900,000, half a million are negroes. Furthermore, less than one-half of all these young people have reached or gone beyond the eighth grade. It seems to me it should be our aim and purpose to secure for these 2,900,000 young people the opportunity to share equally with their fellows the normal blessings of our traditional American life, to be a part of and to have a share in normal family life, in school work and in the better fitting of themselves for jobs and for life work.

(For discussion of N.Y.A. see Items 86, 86A, and note, this volume.)

110 ¶ A Letter on a Proposed Amendment to the Public Utility Holding Company Bill.

August 21, 1935

My dear Mr. Rayburn:

I HAVE seen a copy of the proposed substitute for subsection B of Section 11 of the Public Utility Holding Company Bill offered by the Senate conferees as a compromise of the differences

Utility Holding Company Bill

between the House and Senate bills on the subject matter of such subsection B.

From the point of view of the House, this proposal certainly constitutes a most generous concession on the part of the Senate conferees.

From my point of view, it represents a greater recession from the Senate bill than I should like to see made. But I understand the urgent desire of many members of both Houses to have a bill worked out at this session, and to that end I hope the House will find this proposal of the Senate conferees acceptable.

Very sincerely,

Hon. Sam Rayburn,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

NOTE: The Public Utility Holding Act (Pub. No. 333, 74th Congress; 49 Stat. 803) was finally passed by the Congress and approved by me on August 26, 1935. (See Items 27, 48, and 82 of this volume.)

It provides in general for the regulation by the Securities and Exchange Commission (see Vol. III, Item 22) of the financial practices of interstate holding company systems controlling gas and electric utilities. The holding companies are now required to register with and make reports to the Commission; and, with certain exceptions, cannot issue or sell securities or acquire securities or utility assets without the consent of the Commission. Intercompany transactions are strictly regulated and supervised. The Act also calls for simplification of the corporate structure of utility holding companies and the con-

finement of their business with certain exceptions to an economically integrated system, beginning January 1, 1938.

Such a system is defined in the Act as one whose assets are physically interconnected or capable of being so connected and which under normal conditions may be economically operated as a single interconnected and coordinated system confined to a single area not so large as to impair (considering the state of the art and the area affected) the advantages of localized management, efficient operation and the effectiveness of regulation.

The holding-company industry has made a bitter and protracted legal fight against this legislation. As of December 1, 1937, only slightly less than one-third of the industry (on the basis of consolidated assets) had registered in accordance with the Act.

Bi-Centennial Celebration Greeting

It is expected by this Act to prevent the many abuses which led to its adoption and which have caused not only great loss to investors in public utility stocks but increased rates to the consumers of gas and electricity.

The statute did not deal only with public utility holding companies. Title II thereof amended the Federal Water Power Act of 1920, renaming it the Federal Power Act.

It added to the powers of the Federal Power Commission the supervision over all electric energy which flows in interstate commerce regardless of whether it comes from water power or from fuel sources. It aimed to establish regulatory control over the rates and activities of electric utilities in interstate operation which are beyond the effective control of State regulatory

bodies and also set up machinery whereby Federal assistance may be given to State commissions in their efforts at public regulation.

The Power Commission has already produced many fine results in carrying out its increased authority under the statute. It is now assuming a greater position of responsibility in promoting and preserving that part of the national welfare which has to do with the national power industry. Regulation of interstate utilities, licensing of projects on navigable streams, planning for the greater development of natural water resources, protecting the interests of the investing and consuming public, and generally forwarding the public interest in the power industry—these are the powers and activities of the present Federal Power Commission.

111 ¶ A Telephoned Greeting to the Bi-Centennial Celebration of Sainte Genevieve, Missouri. August 22, 1935

THE history of the town of Sainte Genevieve eloquently testifies to the fortitude of those pioneers who built their homes on the western bank of the Mississippi and wrested minerals from the hills, furs from the forest, and a plentiful harvest from the plain; who merged their varied nationalities in a mighty effort to carve an American Nation out of the Western wilderness.

We admire that Christian courage which refused to be daunted by Indian depredations and massacres, by a gradual change in the course of the Mississippi threatening the destruction of the settle-

A Letter of Appreciation to Congress

ment, or by the disastrous flood of 1785. In due course, through the rugged efforts of your predecessors, the hostile Indians were pacified; and the restless Mississippi, far from annihilating the community, provoked a providential removal of the church and other buildings to a better site where the village could expand and flourish.

These triumphs over affliction are characteristic of the spirit of our early Americans. Although the problems which confront us today are of a different sort, I am confident that you have not lost the stalwart qualities of frontier days.

It is with a full appreciation of your past that, on this occasion of your Bi-Centennial Celebration, I extend to you my hearty wishes for a happy and prosperous future.

112 ¶ A Letter of Appreciation to the Congress.

August 24, 1935

My dear Mr. Speaker:

IF THE opportunity presents itself, will you be good enough to extend my greetings to the Members of the House of Representatives and to express to them my deep and sincere congratulations upon the work which they have accomplished? When a calm and fair review of the work of this Congress is made, it will be called a historic session. It has dealt, in a spirit of statesmanship, with matters of vital interest to the lives of our people. Much has been accomplished for the permanent well-being of the Nation as a whole.

I am grateful for, and happy in, the cooperation between us, and I extend to each and every one of you my good wishes for a well-earned rest.

Faithfully yours,

The Honorable,
The Speaker of the House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

Agricultural Adjustment Act Amendments

NOTE: A similar letter was sent thanking the members of both to the President of the Senate. It Houses of the Congress for their carried out my annual custom of work during the year.

113 ¶ Presidential Statement upon Signing Amendments to the Agricultural Adjustment Act. August 24, 1935

THIS legislation supplements and strengthens the original Agricultural Adjustment Act, enacted May 12, 1933, which unquestionably has been of great value to American farmers. It carries forward the agricultural program on the broad economic basis of the original Act.

The Act as a whole will enable the Agricultural Adjustment Administration to move forward in its constructive and essential work in behalf of agriculture.

NOTE: The amendments to the Agricultural Adjustment Act (see Items 20 and 54, Vol. II), which were approved by me on August 24, 1935 (Public No. 320, 74th Congress; 49 Stat. 750), were intended, among other things, to safeguard the Act so far as possible against attacks based on the case of *Schechter Poultry Corp. vs. United States* (295 U. S. 495, May 27, 1935), which struck down the code-making provisions of N.I.R.A. as unconstitutional. They sought to do this by bringing more clearly under the power to regulate interstate commerce the various provisions of the Act and by providing more specific standards for administrative action. The amendments also sought to strengthen, clarify and simplify legislative bases for agricultural im-

provement measures taken under the agricultural adjustment program.

The amendments, with these ends in view, defined, specified and limited in great detail the authority which had been delegated by the Congress to the Secretary of Agriculture, so that it could not be said, pursuant to the *Schechter* decision, that there had been an unconstitutional delegation of legislative powers. The Secretary was *directed*, rather than *authorized*, to put into effect certain specified corrective measures and was permitted to use his discretion only in the choice of the corrective measures specified by the Congress. Definite formulae for calculating the rates of processing taxes which might be levied under the Act were specifi-

Agricultural Adjustment Act Amendments

cally set forth in the law. A legal and administrative rate procedure in connection with these taxes, penalties for violations, provisions for judicial review and other matters were definitely prescribed in the statute instead of being left to the administrative action of the Secretary.

References to interstate commerce were redefined, and operation of the Act was sought to be brought rigorously within the limits of the interstate commerce clause.

The marketing agreement provisions of the amended statute were different from the original Agricultural Adjustment Act. The broad and general powers which had been granted to the Secretary of Agriculture under the original Act were limited. The revisions specified (1) the use of marketing orders by the Secretary in place of licenses; (2) the exact commodities to which marketing orders might apply; (3) the terms and provisions which marketing agreements and orders might contain. These revisions were also intended to meet the objection of delegation of powers.

There were a number of additional strengthening and clarifying provisions inserted in this new statute which had no relationship to any judicial controversy as to its constitutionality. These provisions included a redefining of parity price or fair-exchange value of farm products, certain payments other than rental and benefit payments

in connection with basic agricultural commodities, certain features of an ever-normal granary plan for some groups, and certain controls over competing imports. New provisions relating to specific commodities, such as cotton, tobacco and potatoes, were included. Then there were various miscellaneous provisions; for example, to encourage producer-cooperative enterprises, to appropriate funds for eliminating diseased cattle, to make available funds to exercise options in effect on sub-marginal land to be purchased and retired, to appropriate a percentage of customs receipts to be expended by the Secretary in removal of agricultural surpluses, expanding domestic or foreign markets, or in making payments in connection with production of agricultural commodities for domestic consumption.

The changes made by the Amendatory Act of August 24, 1935, were held by the Supreme Court of the United States, in *Rickert Rice Mills, Inc. vs. Fontenot* (297 U. S. 110), not to have cured "the infirmities of the original Act which were the basis of the decision in *U. S. vs. Butler*," which declared the original Act unconstitutional. (See Introduction to this volume, and Items 4 and 6 of Vol. V.) The later decision stated that "the exaction still lacks the quality of a true tax" and that "it remains a means for effectuating the regulation of agricultural production, a matter not within the powers of Congress."

114 ¶ A Letter Suggesting Means for Conserving
the Benefits of N.R.A. August 24, 1935

My dear Mr. Chairman:

REPORTS upon industrial conditions, covering the short period in which commerce and industry have been functioning without the advantage of the codes of fair competition, have been received by me from the National Recovery Administration. Notwithstanding successful and praiseworthy efforts being made by many employers to maintain standards of employment, these indicate a tendency toward serious impairment of established standards by a minority. To place these facts before your Committee, I am transmitting herewith certain information substantiating this conclusion. As additional evidence is gathered, I shall continue to furnish it to your Committee to lay as broad a factual base as possible for your consideration of the problems involved. The National Recovery Administration is also making a general survey of the results so far obtained under the National Industrial Recovery Act.

It does not seem possible to complete this work in time for its use at the present session of the Congress. In the short time remaining, it seems impracticable to ask the Congress to give consideration to an industrial statute of broad import. If your Committee staff could be delegated to analyze, during the coming months, the material collected, I believe adequate data would be made available for a thorough understanding of the complex situation confronting industry and labor. With this done, your Committee could meet, in the fall, for hearings and the formulation of proposed legislation for preserving permanently to the Nation such social and economic advantages as were gained through previous emergency enactments. This would enable you to offer at the opening of the coming session, a well-considered program for Congressional action.

Pending determination by the Congress of whether further industrial legislation will be enacted, it is hoped that industrial

Saving Benefits of N.R.A.

groups will, in increasing numbers, avail themselves of the provisions of the Joint Resolution extending National Industrial Recovery Administration which permit agreements (1) putting into effect the requirements of Section 7-A, minimum wages, maximum hours and prohibition of child labor, and (2) prohibiting unfair competitive practices which offend against existing law. Such agreements, when approved by the President, as to matters covered by the Joint Resolution, are exempted expressly from the penalties of the anti-trust laws, including criminal prosecutions, injunctions and treble damages. By such action, industry can undoubtedly do much to preserve the very substantial gains made while the codes were in effect. Applications for approval of such agreements should be filed with the Federal Trade Commission.

Industry may continue to take advantage of the familiar trade practice conference procedure of the Federal Trade Commission.

It will be my purpose during the adjournment of Congress to call into conference representatives of management, labor and consumers in the hope that discussion will create among them a general agreement as to the best means of accelerating industrial recovery and the elimination of unemployment. I am hopeful that such an effort will be successful, especially in view of the definite manifestation of interest by all in the solution of these problems.

I am sending a similar letter to the Honorable Robert L. Doughton, Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives. May I request that consideration be given by your Committee toward adopting a plan conformable to these suggestions and, if possible, correlating the activities of the respective Senate and House Committees?

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Pat Harrison,
Chairman, Finance Committee,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

To the Young Democratic Clubs

NOTE: One of the purposes and functions of the extended skeleton form of N.R.A. after the Supreme Court decision (see Items 67, 68 and Introduction, this volume) was to review past data and to determine what further steps could be taken. By August, 1935, when the foregoing letter was written, sufficient data had been accumulated to serve as a possible basis for a new legislative program to protect labor standards and to eliminate unfair business competition. Moreover, large groups within both labor and industry were looking for assurance that renewed consideration would be given to these problems.

Since the extended N.R.A. was to expire in the spring of 1936, it was desirable that any new legislation should be enacted, if possible, prior to that time. The foregoing letter indicated that there was a growing tendency toward serious impairment of established standards. It did not seem possible to complete the investigatory work before the

next session. It was therefore contemplated that a conference of representatives of labor, industry and consumers would meet in Washington before the opening of the next session of the Congress on January 1, 1936, and that the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee would meet at the same time to examine the same problem and to correlate their activities with respect to it.

The foregoing letter sets forth the substance of this plan.

Conferences of representatives of labor and industry were called in Washington in December, 1935, by Major Berry, as Coordinator for Industrial Recovery. As a whole, industry did not respond very cordially; some industries sent representatives, but the major sections of American industry merely sent "observers," with instructions to watch but not to participate in any deliberations. Nothing significant seems to have come out of these conferences.

115 ¶ A Radio Address to the Young Democratic Clubs of America. August 24, 1935

I AM deeply sorry that I have had to forego the opportunity of accompanying my old friend, Senator Ryan Duffy, to Milwaukee to be with you tonight, as I had planned. But the closing days of a far-reaching and memorable Session of the Congress of the United States keep me here in Washington.

You doubtless know everything that I am going to say to you, because starting as early as last Monday certain special writers

To the Young Democratic Clubs

of a few papers have given you a complete outline of my remarks. I have been interested and somewhat amused by these clairvoyants who put on the front page many days ago this speech, which, because of pressure of time, I could only think out and dictate this very morning.

Whatever his party affiliations may be, the President of the United States, in addressing the youth of the country—even when speaking to the younger citizens of his own party—should speak as President of the whole people. It is true that the Presidency carries with it, for the time being, the leadership of a political party as well. But the Presidency carries with it a far higher obligation than this—the duty of analyzing and setting forth national needs and ideals which transcend and cut across all lines of party affiliation. Therefore, what I am about to say to you, members of the Young Democratic Clubs, is precisely—word for word—what I would say were I addressing a convention of the youth of the Republican Party.

A man of my generation comes to the councils of the younger warriors in a very different spirit from that in which the older men addressed the youth of my time. Party or professional leaders who talked to us twenty-five or thirty years ago almost inevitably spoke in a mood of achievement and of exultation. They addressed us with the air of those who had won the secret of success for themselves and of permanence of achievement for their country for all generations to come. They assumed that there was a guarantee of final accomplishment for the people of this country and that the grim specter of insecurity and want among the great masses would never haunt this land of plenty as it had widely visited other portions of the world. And so the elders of that day used to tell us, in effect, that the job of youth was merely to copy them and thereby to preserve the great things they had won for us.

I have no desire to underestimate the achievements of the past. We have no right to speak slightly of the heritage, spiritual and material, that comes down to us. There are lessons that it

To the Young Democratic Clubs

teaches that we abandon only at our own peril. "Hold fast to that which is permanently true" is still a counsel of wisdom.

While my elders were talking to me about the perfection of America, I did not know then of the lack of opportunity, the lack of education, the lack of many of the essential needs of civilization which existed among millions of our people who lived not alone in the slums of the great cities and in the forgotten corners of rural America but even under the very noses of those who had the advantages and the power of Government of those days.

I say from my heart that no man of my generation has any business to address youth unless he comes to that task not in a spirit of exultation, but in a spirit of humility. I cannot expect you of a newer generation to believe me, of an older generation, if I do not frankly acknowledge that had the generation that brought you into the world been wiser and more provident and more unselfish, you would have been saved from needless difficult problems and needless pain and suffering. We may not have failed you in good intentions but we have certainly not been adequate in results. Your task, therefore, is not only to maintain the best in your heritage, but to labor to lift from the shoulders of the American people some of the burdens that the mistakes of a past generation have placed there.

There was a time when the formula for success was the simple admonition to have a stout heart and willing hands. A great, new country lay open. When life became hard in one place it was necessary only to move on to another. But circumstances have changed all that. Today we can no longer escape into virgin territory: we must master our environment. The youth of this generation finds that the old frontier is occupied, but that science and invention and economic evolution have opened up a new frontier—one not based on geography but on the resourcefulness of men and women applied to the old frontier.

The cruel suffering of the recent depression has taught us unforgettable lessons. We have been compelled by stark necessity to unlearn the too comfortable superstition that the American

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soil was mystically blessed with every kind of immunity to grave economic maladjustments, and that the American spirit of individualism—all alone and unhelped by the cooperative efforts of Government—could withstand and repel every form of economic disarrangement or crisis. The severity of the recent depression, toward which we had been heading for a whole generation, has taught us that no economic or social class in the community is so richly endowed and so independent of the general community that it can safeguard its own security, let alone assure security for the general community.

The very objectives of young people have changed. In the older days a great financial fortune was too often the goal. To rule through wealth, or through the power of wealth, fired our imagination. This was the dream of the golden ladder—each individual for himself.

It is my firm belief that the newer generation of America has a different dream. You place emphasis on sufficiency of life, rather than on a plethora of riches. You think of the security for yourself and your family that will give you good health, good food, good education, good working conditions, and the opportunity for normal recreation and occasional travel. Your advancement, you hope, is along a broad highway on which thousands of your fellow men and women are advancing with you.

You and I know that this modern economic world of ours is governed by rules and regulations vastly more complex than those laid down in the days of Adam Smith or John Stuart Mill. They faced simpler mechanical processes and social needs. It is worth remembering, for example, that the business corporation, as we know it, did not exist in the days of Washington and Hamilton and Jefferson. Private businesses then were conducted solely by individuals or by partnerships in which every member was immediately and wholly responsible for success or failure. Facts are relentless. We must adjust our ideas to the facts of today.

Our concepts of the regulation of money and credit and industrial competition, of the relation of employer and employee,

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created for the old civilization, are being modified to save our economic structure from confusion, destruction and paralysis. The rules that governed the relationship between an employer and employee in the blacksmith's shop in the days of Washington cannot, of necessity, govern the relationship between the fifty thousand employees of a great corporation and the infinitely complex and diffused ownership of that corporation. If fifty thousand employees spoke with fifty thousand voices, there would be a modern Tower of Babel. That is why we insist on their right to choose their representatives to bargain collectively in their behalf with their employer. In the case of the employees, every individual employee will know in his daily work whether he is adequately represented or not. In the case of the hundreds of thousands of stockholders in the present-day ownership of great corporations, however, their knowledge of the success of the management is based too often solely on a financial balance sheet. Things may go wrong in the management without their being aware of it for a year, or for many years to come. Without their day-to-day knowledge they may be exploited and their investments jeopardized. Therefore, we have come to the recognition of the need of simple but adequate public protection for the rights of the investing public.

A rudimentary concept of credit control appropriate for financing the economic life of a Nation of 3,000,000 people can hardly be urged as a means of directing and protecting the welfare of our twentieth-century industrialism. The simple banking rules of Hamilton's day, when all the transactions of a fair-sized bank could be kept in the neat penmanship of a clerk in one large ledger, fail to protect the millions of individual depositors of a great modern banking institution. And so it goes through all the range of economic life. Aggressive enterprise and shrewd invention have been at work on our economic machine. Our rules of conduct for the operation of that machine must be subjected to the same constant development.

And so in our social life. Forty years ago, slum conditions in our great cities were much worse than today. Living conditions

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on farms and working conditions in mines and factories were primitive. But they were taken for granted. Few people considered that the Government had responsibility for sanitation, for safety devices, for preventing child labor and night work for women. In 1911, twenty-four years ago, when I was first a member of the New York State Legislature, a number of the younger members of the Legislature worked against these old conditions and called for laws governing factory inspection, for workmen's compensation and for the limitation of work for women and children to fifty-four hours, with one day's rest in seven. Those of us who joined in this movement in the Legislature were called reformers, socialists, and wild men. We were opposed by many of the same organizations and the same individuals who are now crying aloud about the socialism involved in social security legislation, in bank deposit insurance, in farm credit, in the saving of homes, in the protection of investors and the regulation of public utilities. The reforms, however, for which we were condemned twenty-four years ago are taken today as a matter of course. And so, I believe, will be regarded the reforms that now cause such concern to the reactionaries of 1935. We come to an understanding of these new ways of protecting people because our knowledge enlarges and our capacity for organized action increases. People have learned that they can carry their burdens effectively only by cooperation. We have found out how to conquer the ravages of diseases that years ago were regarded as unavoidable and inevitable. We must learn that many other social ills can be cured.

Let me emphasize that serious as have been the errors of unrestrained individualism, I do not believe in abandoning the system of individual enterprise. The freedom and opportunity that have characterized American development in the past can be maintained if we recognize the fact that the individual system of our day calls for the collaboration of all of us to provide, at the least, security for all of us. Those words "freedom" and "opportunity" do not mean a license to climb upwards by pushing other people down.

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Any paternalistic system which tries to provide for security for everyone from above only calls for an impossible task and a regimentation utterly uncongenial to the spirit of our people. But Government cooperation to help make the system of free enterprise work, to provide that minimum security without which the competitive system cannot function, to restrain the kind of individual action which in the past has been harmful to the community—that kind of governmental cooperation is entirely consistent with the best tradition of America.

Just as the evolution of economic and social life has shown the need for new methods and practices, so has the new political life developed the need for new political practices and methods. Government now demands the best trained brains of every business and profession. Government today requires higher and higher standards of those who would serve it. It must bring to its service greater and greater competence. The conditions of public work must be improved and protected. Mere party membership and loyalty can no longer be the exclusive test. We must be loyal not merely to persons or parties, but we must be loyal also to the higher conceptions of ability and devotion that modern Government requires.

There was a day when political sages, or those who controlled them, took the attitude that anything new, or what they called “new-fangled,” would lead to dire results. There is nothing new in those prophecies of gloom. I read these lines in a paper the other day—a little poem entitled “Going to the Dogs”:

My grandpa notes the world's worn cogs,
And says we're going to the dogs;
His granddad in his house of logs,
Swore things were going to the dogs;
His dad, among the Flemish bogs,
Vowed things were going to the dogs;
The caveman in his queer skin togs,
Said things were going to the dogs;
But this is what I wish to state —
The dogs have had an awful wait.

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I would be lacking in any sense of responsibility and lacking in elementary courage if I shared in such a hopeless attitude.

I, for one, am willing to place my trust in the youth of America. If they demand action as well as preachments, I should be ashamed to chill their enthusiasm with the dire prophecy that to change is to destroy. I am unwilling to sneer at the vision of youth merely because vision is sometimes mistaken. But vision does not belong only to the young.

There are millions of older people who have vision, just as there are some younger men and women who are ready to put a weary, selfish or greedy hand upon the clock of progress and turn it back.

We who seek to go forward must ever guard ourselves against a danger which history teaches. More than ever, we cherish the elective form of democratic government, but progress under it can easily be retarded by disagreements that relate to method and to detail rather than to the broad objectives upon which we are agreed. It is as if all of us were united in the pursuit of a common goal, but that each and every one of us were marching along a separate road of our own. If we insist on choosing different roads, most of us will not reach our common destination. The reason that the forces of reaction so often defeat the forces of progress is that the Tories of the world are agreed and united in standing still on the same old spot and, therefore, never run the danger of getting lost on divergent trails. One might remark in passing that one form of standing still on the same spot consists in agreeing to condemn all progress and letting it go at that.

Therefore, to the American youth of all parties I submit a message of confidence—Unite and Challenge! Rules are not necessarily sacred; principles are. The methods of the old order are not, as some would have you believe, above the challenge of youth.

Let us carry on the good that the past gave us. The best of that good is the spirit of America. And the spirit of America is the spirit of inquiry, of readjustment, of improvement, above all a

Allocation of Work Relief Funds

spirit in which youth can find the fulfillment of its ideals. It is for the new generation to participate in the decisions and to give strength and spirit and continuity to our Government and to our national life.

116 ¶ A Letter to Various Government Agencies
on Allocation of Work Relief Funds.

August 26, 1935

Dear Sir:

I AM writing to inform you that all applications for allocation of funds from the \$4,880,000,000 appropriation under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, approved April 8, 1935, must be in the hands of the Division of Applications and Information of the National Emergency Council not later than Thursday, September 12, 1935, in such form that they can be presented to the Advisory Committee on Allotments for final action at its meeting of September 17, 1935. No applications for allocation of funds will be received or considered thereafter.

It is planned that all allocations recommended by the Advisory Committee on Allotments up to and including September 17, 1935, and approved by me will have been acted upon by the Secretary of the Treasury and by the Comptroller General prior to September 24, 1935. It is therefore directed that all governmental agencies, Federal, State, municipal, etc., be prepared on or before October 22, 1935, either to ask for bids for construction work or begin operations by direct labor (force account) on the project. Where projects are to be carried on under contracts, such contracts must be awarded and signed on or before December 15, 1935.

Very sincerely yours,

Approval of Neutrality Legislation

The President addressed the above letter to:

The Secretary of Agriculture	Chairman, United States Em-
The Secretary of Commerce	ployees' Compensation
The Secretary of the Interior	Commission
The Attorney General	Administrator, Resettlement
The Secretary of Labor	Administration
The Secretary of the Navy	Administrator, Rural Electri-
The Secretary of State	fication Administration
The Secretary of the Treasury	Administrator of Veterans' Af-
The Secretary of War	airs
President, Civil Service Com-	Administrator, Puerto Rico Re-
mission	construction Administration
Director, Emergency Conserva-	Administrator, Works Progress
tion Work	Administration

117 ¶ Presidential Statement on Approval of Neutrality Legislation. August 31, 1935

I HAVE given my approval to S. J. Resolution 173 — the neutrality legislation which passed the Congress last week. I have approved this Joint Resolution because it was intended as an expression of the fixed desire of the Government and the people of the United States to avoid any action which might involve us in war. The purpose is wholly excellent, and this Joint Resolution will to a considerable degree serve that end.

It provides for a licensing system for the control of carrying arms, etc., by American vessels; for the control of the use of American waters by foreign submarines; for the restriction of travel by American citizens on vessels of belligerent Nations; and for the embargo of the export of arms, etc., to both belligerent Nations.

The latter Section terminates at the end of February, 1936. This Section requires further and more complete consideration between now and that date. Here again the objective is wholly good. It is the policy of this Government to avoid being drawn into wars between other Nations, but it is a fact that no Congress and no Executive can foresee all possible future situations. His-

Approval of Neutrality Legislation

tory is filled with unforeseeable situations that call for some flexibility of action. It is conceivable that situations may arise in which the wholly inflexible provisions of Section I of this Act might have exactly the opposite effect from that which was intended. In other words, the inflexible provisions might drag us into war instead of keeping us out. The policy of the Government is definitely committed to the maintenance of peace and the avoidance of any entanglements which would lead us into conflict. At the same time it is the policy of the Government by every peaceful means and without entanglement to cooperate with other similarly minded Governments to promote peace.

In several aspects further careful consideration of neutrality needs is most desirable and there can well be an expansion to include provisions dealing with other important aspects of our neutrality policy which have not been dealt with in this temporary measure.

NOTE: The Senate Joint Resolution No. 173 (49 Stat. 1081), which was approved on August 31, 1935, with the foregoing statement, was the most comprehensive neutrality law which had ever been passed by the Congress of the United States.

It provided that upon proclamation by the President that a state of war existed between two or more foreign countries, it should thereafter be unlawful to export arms, munitions and implements of war to the belligerent countries, and unlawful for American vessels to carry arms to belligerents. It also provided that if the President so proclaimed, American citizens should travel at their own risk on the vessels of belligerent Nations.

The resolution also set up a thoroughgoing system of national supervision and control of the manufac-

ture and traffic in arms and munitions. This latter provision was an enactment which the Administration had been seeking for some time for the United States, and one which it had urged the Disarmament Conference at Geneva in 1934 to adopt for the Nations of the world. (See Item 84, Vol. III.)

The arms control section of the resolution established a National Munitions Control Board consisting of the Secretaries of State, Treasury, War, Navy and Commerce, with supervisory powers over the traffic in arms. The actual administration of the law was placed in the Department of State and an office of Arms and Munitions Control was set up in that Department to perform these functions.

The resolution (as amended by Section V of the Joint Resolution,

Relief after Florida Hurricane

approved May 1, 1937) provides that all manufacturers, exporters and importers of arms, munitions and implements of war are required to register with the Secretary of State, and to keep open for inspection by him or by any person designated by him, certain records pertaining to their business. Licenses are required for the export and import of arms to and from all countries.

Since the enactment of the resolution, monthly reports have been furnished to the press by the State Department, giving the pertinent information in regard to export and import licenses which have been issued. In addition, the National Munitions Control Board makes an annual report to the Congress, giving complete details in regard to the operation of the arms control system.

In this way the public is furnished with accurate and current information with regard to American participation in the interna-

tional traffic in arms, and the Executive is enabled to enforce more effectively restrictions on the exportation of arms imposed by our neutrality laws.

This Government has for several years observed a definite policy of refusing to promote and encourage the export trade in arms, and of forbidding its representatives abroad from taking any action which might be construed as an effort to increase the sale in foreign countries of implements of war manufactured here. This policy has been in marked contrast to that followed by several other powers.

Domestic control of this question is now operating smoothly and satisfactorily, but international control is still an unaccomplished fact, although we have made it clear, time and again, that whenever the other powers express a willingness to negotiate once more, we shall be ready to do all in our power to bring about a comprehensive international convention.

118 ¶ Telegram Ordering Federal Relief after Florida Hurricane. September 3, 1935

Army and Navy ordered to render all possible aid, and Red Cross already at work. Let me know if there is any additional emergency rescue work Federal Government can do.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Hon. David Sholtz,
Governor of Florida,
Tallahassee, Florida

119 ¶ The Two Hundred and Thirty-fifth Press Conference (Excerpts). September 4, 1935

(Oil concessions in Ethiopia — No more dollar diplomacy.)

Q. Is there anything you want to say further on this Ethiopian situation, that is, the cancellation of the oil leases?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I think it has got pretty full stories from Washington.

Q. It was a good piece of diplomacy.

THE PRESIDENT: A good job. Of course you can — if I were writing the story, I would put it this way: That by no stretch of the imagination has the President or the Secretary of State ever been the least bit concerned over the possibility of this oil lease involving the United States, in any shape, manner or form in the Ethiopian or Italian problems. Nobody who knows the Administration policies could think for a minute that there could be involvement. The only danger lay in the effect of the oil lease on the negotiations between European powers and Ethiopia that are now going on in Geneva. And of course the result yesterday of the withdrawal from the concession has been a fine thing because it has cleared the air of those conferences. And then, if I were going to write one more paragraph, I would put it this way: "that this is another proof that since March 4, 1933, dollar diplomacy is not recognized by the American Government." (*Laughter*)

Q. May we quote that?

THE PRESIDENT: I think you could quote that.

MR. EARLY: Just that one sentence.

THE PRESIDENT: Since the 4th of March, 1933, dollar diplomacy is no longer recognized by the United States Government.

Q. Are you sure that this was dollar diplomacy and that there were no other currencies involved? (*Laughter*)

THE PRESIDENT: Off the record, I would say that that would depend on the rate of exchange.

Q. Would you be willing to answer the question that neither is

The Taylor Grazing Act

the pound sterling diplomacy going to be recognized? (*The President did not answer*) (*Laughter*)

NOTE: The Standard-Vacuum Oil Company through a subsidiary had obtained an extensive oil concession in Ethiopia.

The State Department informed the chairman of the board and the vice-president of the company who visited the Department of State to seek advice on the situation created by the grant that the allowance of this concession had been the cause of great embarrassment not only to the United States, but also to other

Nations which were making efforts to preserve peace.

The concession, which had been negotiated with the Emperor of Ethiopia through a British promoter without any consultation with the Department of State or any Government agency, was thereupon abandoned by the company.

The foregoing statement in the Press Conference was made in connection with this matter.

120 ¶ The President Vetoes Amendments to the Taylor Grazing Act. September 5, 1935

I HAVE with some reluctance disapproved

H. R. 3019, An Act to amend "An Act to stop injury to the public grazing lands by preventing overgrazing and soil deterioration, to provide for their orderly use, improvement, and development, to stabilize the livestock industry dependent upon the public range, and for other purposes," approved June 28, 1934 (48 Stat. 1269).

Some of the changes effected by this legislation were proposed to the Congress by the Department of the Interior. These changes, however, were relatively simple in scope and did not involve radical alterations in the principles of the original law.

Other changes effected by the provisions of this Bill are not sound. They would nullify in large measure the benefits of the Taylor Grazing Act and would make the administration of that Act along sound conservation lines virtually unattainable.

I append hereto copy of memorandum furnished me by the Department of the Interior and I note also the recommendation of the Department of Agriculture that the Bill be not approved.

The Taylor Grazing Act

I am confident that at another session of the Congress the matter can be reconsidered and more suitable legislation passed.

August 26, 1935

Memorandum to the President:

(EXCERPTS)

I am returning to you House Bill 3019, amending the Act approved June 28, 1934 (48 Stat. 1269), to regulate grazing on the public domain. I recommend that this bill be not approved because of the irreparable damage that would result, if it became the law, to the present program for the orderly use, improvement and development of public grazing lands and for the stabilization of the livestock industry. The provisions in the amendatory act dealing with the exchange, leasing, and outright grant of lands would not only defeat the fundamental objectives of the present grazing law but through their operation might make it possible in a few years for the States to acquire all of the non-mineral unreserved public domain. . . .

There are 165,000,000 acres in the public domain, which for many years have been subject to the unrestricted grazing of cattle and sheep, resulting in the destruction of a valuable natural resource in forage cover and the ruin of the land itself through erosion once the protective vegetative cover has been weakened by overgrazing. This situation brought about the enactment of the Taylor Grazing Law in 1934, which made it possible for the first time to provide for a coordinated, regulatory program for the use by stockmen and sheepmen of 80,000,000 acres of the public domain. This law and the plan of administration adopted by the Department of the Interior which provides for local self-determination of practical range problems has been given enthusiastic support by those intended to be benefited.

The amendatory act now before me expands to 142,000,000 acres the area subject to inclusion in grazing districts. This, in other circumstances, I would heartily favor. I do not believe, however, that the benefits resulting from an enlargement of the controlled area would outweigh the evils which would follow the changes in the law that are now proposed. . . .

The bill makes mandatory the exchange of State-owned lands for public lands of equal value, regardless of whether such exchanges are in the public interest, merely on the application of the State. . . .

The Taylor Grazing Act

The States exclusively, and not the Federal Government, would be the moving parties in these exchanges, nor is any discretion given the Secretary of the Interior to protect the interests of the grazing districts. The States, on the other hand, are given the opportunity of consolidating their land holdings within grazing districts by exchanging lands within or outside of the boundaries of the grazing districts. The Federal Government would have no option except to dispossess itself of its own land at the behest of the coveting State. Through the operation of this provision the Federal Government could be required to relinquish the most advantageously situated public lands in exchange for the least desirable tracts, most of which in turn would probably pass to the States at the end of two years as isolated tracts under another provision of the amendatory bill which I will discuss later.

This inequitable and unrestricted power would inevitably increase the instability of the livestock industry that is dependent upon the public range and which the present grazing law was intended to benefit. . . .

I have mentioned the isolated tracts that undoubtedly would be acquired by the Federal Government under the exchange clause of this proposed amendment. These isolated tracts, under Section 8 of the bill, in so far as they are vacant, unappropriated, unreserved and non-mineral, would automatically be granted to the State two years after the passage of this act. It is the combination of this mandatory requirement with the exchange privilege that under a possible interpretation of the amendment might ultimately deprive the Federal Government of practically all of its public land holdings as well as take the breath of life out of the present grazing law. . . .

The present program for administering the isolated tracts is based upon a leasing system which permits stockmen to acquire the right for a period not to exceed ten years to graze their herds on the public domain. Under the amendatory act such a lease could be cancelled arbitrarily as the result of the exchange provision. The grazing administration should not be required to issue leases that lack assurance to the lessee that he will not be disturbed for the term of the lease, particularly when such a lease can be made a valuable credit asset at the bank.

The bill also authorizes employment of personnel without regard to the provisions of the civil service and limits employment to bona

An Exchange of Letters

fide citizens and residents of the State in which service is to be rendered. This would mean that the employees in any grazing district whose chief duty it is to maintain fair dealing among local permittees, would themselves be local residents subject to local pressure, to the vagaries of local factional strife, and to the whims of some dominant local stockman. The civil service has proved itself an excellent medium for the selection of qualified employees and the maintenance of personnel free from the pressure of powerful local or selfish interests. Civil service rules should continue to govern employment in the grazing administration.

In conclusion, I may summarize my reasons for withholding my approval from this amendment: The exchange and isolated tract provisions would probably promote monopolistic private control of a natural resource and tend to destroy the small stockman and homesteader; they could result eventually in transferring title to the remaining public domain to the States; they would practically destroy the two principal objectives of the present grazing law, which are the conservation of a valuable natural resource and the stabilization of the livestock industry; and they would turn over to local control the management of a national resource by restricting the power to select personnel. Above all, the most fatal result would lie in the subversion of our national conservation program which this Administration has fostered and which I desire to promote in every possible way. . . .

Very sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. ICKES, *Secretary of the Interior*

(See Item 112, Vol. III, on Taylor Grazing Act.)

121 ¶ An Exchange of Letters—"A Breathing Spell to Industry." September 6, 1935

The following letter, dated August 26, 1935, was received from Mr. Roy W. Howard:

My dear Mr. President:

As an independent editor keenly interested in the objectives of the New Deal, I have been seeking reasons for the doubts and uncertainties of those business men who are skeptics, critics, and outright op-

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ponents of your program at a time when there is no commensurate dissatisfaction being evidenced by others of the electorate. . . .

That certain elements of business have been growing more hostile to your Administration is a fact too obvious to be classed as news. So long as this hostility emanated from financial racketeers, public exploiters, and the sinister forces spawned by special privilege, it was of slight importance. No crook loves a cop. But any experienced reporter will tell you that throughout the country many business men who once gave you sincere support are now, not merely hostile, they are frightened. Many of these men whose patriotism and sense of public service will compare with that of any men in political life, have become convinced and sincerely believe:

That you fathered a tax bill that aims at revenge rather than revenue—revenge on business;

That the Administration has side-stepped broadening the tax base to the extent necessary to approximate the needs of the situation;

That there can be no real recovery until the fears of business have been allayed through the granting of a breathing spell to industry, and a recess from further experimentation until the country can recover its losses.

I know that you have repeatedly stated your position on sections of the Nation's problems, but as an editor I know also the necessity for repetition and reiteration. There is need to undo the damage that has been done by misinterpreters of the New Deal.

I know that you feel as I do—that with all its faults, and the abuses it has developed, our system has in the past enabled us to achieve greater mass progress than has been attained by any other system on earth. Smoke out the sinister forces seeking to delude the public into believing that an orderly modernization of a system we want to preserve is revolution in disguise.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

ROY W. HOWARD

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The President under date of September 2, 1935, wrote the following reply to Mr. Howard:

My dear Mr. Howard:

I APPRECIATE the tone and purpose of your letter, and fairness impels me to note with no little sympathy and understanding the facts which you record, based on your observations as a reporter of opinion throughout the United States. I can well realize, moreover, that the many legislative details and processes incident to the long and arduous session of the Congress should have had the unavoidable effect of promoting some confusion in many people's minds.

I think we can safely disregard the skeptics of whom you speak. Skeptics were present when Noah said it was going to rain and they refused to go into the ark. We can also disregard those who are actuated by a spirit of political partisanship or by a willingness to gain or retain personal profit at the expense of, and detriment to, their neighbors. Then there were those who told us to "do nothing." We had heard of the do-nothing policy before and from the same sources and in many cases from the same individuals. We heard it when Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson proposed reforms. The country has learned how to measure that kind of opposition. But there are critics who are honest and non-partisan and who are willing to discuss and to learn. I believe we owe, therefore, a positive duty to clarify our purposes, to describe our methods and to reiterate our ideals. Such clarification is greatly aided by the efforts of those public-spirited newspapers which serve the public well by a true portrayal of the facts and an unbiased printing of the news.

However, experience is the best teacher and results are the best evidence. As the essential outline of what has been done rises into view, I am confident that doubts and misapprehension will vanish. I am confident further that business as a whole will agree with you and with me that the interests of what we broadly term

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business are not in conflict with, but wholly in harmony with, mass interests.

I note what you say of the hostility emanating from "financial racketeers, public exploiters and sinister forces." Such criticism it is an honor to bear. A car with many cylinders can keep running in spite of plenty of carbon — but it knocks. When it is overhauled an important part of the job is the removal of that carbon.

In the large, the depression was the culmination of unhealthy, however innocent, arrangements in agriculture, in business and in finance. Our legislation was remedial, and as such, it would serve no purpose to make a doctrinaire effort to distinguish between that which was addressed to recovery and that which was addressed to reform. The two, in an effort toward sound and fundamental recovery, are inseparable. Our actions were in conformity with the basic economic purposes which were set forth three years ago.

As spokesman for those purposes I pointed out that it was necessary to seek a wise balance in American economic life, to restore our banking system to public confidence, to protect investors in the security market, to give labor freedom to organize and protection from exploitation, to safeguard and develop our national resources, to set up protection against the vicissitudes incident to old age and unemployment, to relieve destitution and suffering and to relieve investors and consumers from the burden of unnecessary corporate machinery. I do not believe that any responsible political party in the country will dare to go before the public in opposition to any of these major objectives.

The tax program of which you speak is based upon a broad and just social and economic purpose. Such a purpose, it goes without saying, is not to destroy wealth, but to create broader range of opportunity, to restrain the growth of unwholesome and sterile accumulations and to lay the burdens of Government where they can best be carried. This law affects only those individual people who have incomes over \$50,000 a year, and individual estates of decedents who leave over \$40,000.

Moreover, it gives recognition to the generally accepted fact

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that larger corporations enjoying the advantages of size over smaller corporations possess relatively greater capacity to pay. Consequently the act changes the rate of tax on net earnings from a flat $13\frac{3}{4}$ percent to a differential ranging from $12\frac{1}{2}$ percent to 15 percent. No reasonable person thinks that this is going to destroy competent corporations or impair business as a whole. Taxes on 95 percent of our corporations are actually reduced by the new tax law. A small excess profits tax is also provided as well as an intercorporate dividend tax which will have the wholesome effect of encouraging the simplification of overly complicated and wasteful intercorporate relationships.

Congress declined to broaden the tax base because it was recognized that the tax base had already been broadened to a very considerable extent during the past five years. I am aware of the sound arguments advanced in favor of making every citizen pay an income tax, however small his income. England is cited as an example. But it should be recalled that despite complaints about higher taxes our interest payments on all public debts, including local governments, require only 3 percent of our national income as compared with 7 percent in England.

The broadening of our tax base in the past few years has been very real. What is known as consumers' taxes, namely, the invisible taxes paid by people in every walk of life, fall relatively much more heavily upon the poor man than on the rich man. In 1929, consumers' taxes represented only 30 percent of the national revenue. Today they are 60 percent, and even with the passage of the recent tax bill the proportion of these consumers' taxes will drop only 5 percent.

This Administration came into power pledged to a very considerable legislative program. It found the condition of the country such as to require drastic and far-reaching action. Duty and necessity required us to move on a broad front for more than two years. It seemed to the Congress and to me better to achieve these objectives as expeditiously as possible in order that not only business but the public generally might know those modifications in the conditions and rules of economic enterprise which

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were involved in our program. This basic program, however, has now reached substantial completion and the "breathing spell" of which you speak is here — very decidedly so.

It is a source of great satisfaction that at this moment conditions are such as to offer further substantial and widespread recovery. Unemployment is still with us but it is steadily diminishing and our efforts to meet its problems are unflagging. I do not claim the magician's wand. I do not claim that Government alone is responsible for these definitely better circumstances. But we all know the very great effect of the saving of banks, of farms, of homes, the building of public works, the providing of relief for the destitute, and many other direct governmental acts for the betterment of conditions. And we do claim that we have helped to restore that public confidence which now offers so substantial a foundation for our recovery. I take it that we are all not merely seeking but getting the recovery of confidence, not merely the confidence of a small group, but that basic confidence on the part of the mass of our population, in the soundness of our economic life and in the honesty and justice of the purposes of its economic rules and methods.

I like the last sentences of your letter and I repeat them: "With all its faults and with the abuses it has developed, our system has in the past enabled us to achieve greater mass progress than has been attained by any other system on earth. Smoke out the sinister forces seeking to delude the public into believing that an orderly modernization of a system we want to preserve is revolution in disguise."

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Roy W. Howard,
New York City

122 ¶ Presidential Statement on the Murder of
Senator Huey P. Long of Louisiana. September
9, 1935

I DEEPLY regret the attempt made upon the life of Senator Long, of Louisiana. The spirit of violence is un-American and has no place in a consideration of public affairs, least of all at a time when calm and dispassionate approach to the difficult problems of the day is so essential.

123 ¶ Informal Extemporaneous Remarks at the
Dedication of the White Face Memorial High-
way, Lake Placid, N. Y. September 14, 1935

Governor Lehman, Colonel Anderson, men and women of the World War:

WHAT I have seen today in this wonderful drive makes me more enthusiastic about four little words than I ever have been before. Those four short words are these, "It can be done."

Back in 1917, when the United States entered the World War, within a few weeks after April 6, 1917, we received in Washington two delegations of military and naval and civilian officials, one from France and the other from England. Little preparation had been made by this country before actually entering into the War, and there were many theories as to what part the United States should play. I happened to be present in those days at a conference of these visitors and the President of the United States and the leaders of our Army and Navy. We had thought up to that time in terms of putting half a million men into the field. The preparations of the General Staff of the Army and of the Navy had never visualized a role by us in the War that would call for more than perhaps a million men.

But, through April, 1917, we saw, having entered the War, the

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necessity of winning it—at least of helping our associated and allied countries in winning it—and I remember old Marshal Joffre, in the conference, asking the President of the United States how many men America could furnish.

I remember very well the reply of our President: "You will have, Marshal Joffre, a million men; and if you need two million men you will have two million men; and if you need five million men you will have five million men; and if you need the entire man-power, you will have the entire man-power of America." And, then he used those four words, "It can be done."

Actually, as you know, nearly five million men were under arms in the Army and Navy. And, if it had been necessary, we would have supplied five million more to help win that war. Wilson said, "It can be done," and it was done.

Later on, I had the privilege of seeing many of those men at the front, both on the waters and on the fields of Belgium and France. Knowing those men at the front, I am very certain in my own mind that there is no more fitting tribute that we in the State of New York could dedicate to them than this great Memorial Highway to the peak of one of the highest mountains of our State.

Those men who served in the War, whether abroad or at home, were thinking of the future of their Nation. The Governor has well said that this Memorial will outlast any structure of bricks or mortar, any building, any archway, any other tribute that we could possibly create, because this highway will last, not for generations, but for centuries to come. Furthermore, it is not a mere tablet, not a mere building that serves some useful purpose and is seen by many people. It is something more than that. This highway will enter into the lives of our generation and future generations more usefully, I believe, than anything else that we could have created.

Back in those days when we were talking about this tribute, there were "Doubting Thomases" who said: "Let us keep the mountains of the Adirondacks for those who seek to get close to

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nature, who want to climb to the highest peak on foot, who want to camp." Yet you and I know that it is only a comparatively small proportion of our population that can indulge in the luxury of camping and hiking. Even those who engage in it are going to get to the age of life, some day, when they will no longer be able to climb on their own two feet to the tops of mountains. So, for them as they get older, and also for the millions of people who have not the facilities or the possibilities of walking up to the top of our great mountains, we have provided one mountain that they can go to on four wheels.

A far greater proportion of the population of our State and of those who visit us from other States will be served on their holidays and vacations, on their camping trips, than if this highway had not been built. I like to think that we have done something here that will serve the pleasure and the good of the people of this country more than anything else that we could have done.

As to the highway itself, I can only repeat to you a remark that was made to me about a month ago by a distinguished French engineer. He had driven to the top of this road; and when he came to Washington he said to me, "I, of course, know all of the great mountain highways of Europe. There is no highway in all of Europe which can compare for its engineering skill, for its perfection of detail, with the White Face Mountain Highway of the State of New York."

I have been told various stories. This being my first trip, I had to verify them. I had been told it would be necessary to wear red flannels on top of the mountain. Well, on this beautiful day you and I know that this is not true. I had been told that you could see Lake Champlain and I believed it, and there it is before my eyes. But I had been told two other things that I did not believe. I had been told that I could see the St. Lawrence River and from over there in that car, I could see it through binoculars, and over there it is. I was told that I could see Mount Kelly and that, too, I have seen through the binoculars today.

I know the United States fairly well, I think, and I was inter-

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ested in a remark that Colonel Anderson made to me on the way up, which I can verify, I think, knowing our Western friends. A man from Denver came up the mountain the other day and when he came down, Colonel Anderson asked him what he thought of it. And he said, "Well, I am from Denver, and we have got a road up Pike's Peak, so I cannot tell you, coming from Denver and Pike's Peak, that this is finer than that, but I am able to tell you, knowing all the mountains of the East, that there is nothing in the Eastern part of the United States that touches White Face."

Yes, it is a great sight, one hundred and thirty-seven lakes that can be seen from the top of the mountain. You can see the whole range of the Adirondacks. Think of being able to see the Adirondacks, all of them, for a dollar. People are going to come here, my friends, and it is up to us, the citizens of the State of New York, to tell all of our neighbors in the forty-seven other States that they have to come and see this mountain, and not go back home without seeing it. To me, this is one of the finest things that the State of New York has ever done.

I bear tribute to Colonel Greene, to the Commission, and especially to all the men who have been engaged in this great work. It has not only been magnificently engineered, but it has been run within the bounds of cost. That is a great thing these days; and it is going to pay for itself.

I wish very much that it were possible for me to walk up the few remaining feet to the actual top of the mountain. Some day they are going to make it possible for people who cannot make the little climb to go up there in a comfortable and easy elevator.

So, once more, let me tell you how happy I have been on this day of dedication. Let me tell you, men and women of the World War, that I believe this is a tribute from the citizens of the State of New York which would be appreciated by those fallen comrades of ours who served their State and their Nation so well. It is fitting that we should dedicate it in their names. It will stand as a tribute to them through all the centuries to come.

124 ¶ Extemporaneous Remarks at Celebration
of Fiftieth Anniversary of State Conservation at
Lake Placid. September 14, 1935

Governor Lehman, Commissioner Osborne, my friends:

TODAY brings back many memories. The last time I was in this spot, speaking in fact from this same platform, I am told, was three years ago at the time of the Olympic ice sports. We had as our guests in the State a great many men and women from Japan and from most of the countries of Europe. I am very glad that this beautiful stadium has proven its usefulness on a good many other occasions.

My memory goes back a good deal further than three years ago, in fact it goes back to twenty-five years ago, when a very young and unexpectedly elected Senator from the Hudson River Valley—because they couldn't think of anything else for him to do in the Senate—was made Chairman of what was known as the Forest, Fish and Game Committee. It was a post that was supposed to be a sinecure, one of no importance, because in those days there was no such thing as the Conservation Department. The Forest, Fish and Game Commission of the State, headed by an old friend of mine, the father of Commissioner Osborne, started in during the following two years on what was the germ of this great development. We had been protecting what game we had left; we had been planting a few fish in the streams; and, with an entirely inadequate force, we were trying, almost in vain, to prevent fires in the Adirondacks. As a matter of fact, the Adirondack Preserve and the Catskill Preserve in those days were only half the size that they are today. We were growing in the nurseries of the State a few hundred thousand trees; very few people were using them; and there was practically no interest in what you and I know today as conservation in its broadest sense.

But, beginning under the leadership in those days of Commissioner Osborne—Lithgow's father—people began to take an in-

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terest. There was a very fine episode that occurred in that session of the Legislature. I was very keen, after having studied the subject, to get the people of the State interested in preventing soil erosion in the Adirondacks. There were great areas which had been cut over, the tops of the trees remaining far above the ground. I wanted to get through what was known as the Top Lopping Law, and I wanted to get people interested in seeing to it that the trees were preserved on the tops of our mountains. So I invited the Chief Forester of the United States, a man by the name of Gifford Pinchot, who was one of the pioneers of forestry, who had studied in Europe, to come up to Albany. We had a session in the Assembly Chamber and I succeeded in getting a large number of Senators and Assemblymen to attend.

Gifford Pinchot put two pictures on a screen; and those two pictures did more than any other thing to sell conservation to the Legislature of the State of New York. One of them, the first one he showed, was a photograph of an old Chinese painting, the painting of some place up in North China having been executed in approximately the year 1510, four hundred years before this talk that he was giving. It showed a beautiful valley, and a walled town in the valley. It was a town which, history says, had three hundred thousand people in it. There was a beautiful stream running through that valley, with fields and crops on both sides of it. It was obviously a stream that was not subject to flood conditions. The mountains on each side of the valley were covered with spruce and pine forests, clear to their tops. But, if you examined this old painting, you would see that up on the side of one of those mountains was a streak, and if you examined it closely, you found that it was a logging chute. In other words, those old Chinese, four hundred years before, had begun to cut the timber off the top of the mountain; and they were chuting it down to the valley for all kinds of purposes. They had never heard of conservation; and history shows that for the next one hundred years the people in that valley cut off all the trees from the top of the mountain.

Then came the second picture, one that Gifford Pinchot, I

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think, had taken himself, had taken from the identical spot where the first painting had been made. That second picture showed a desert. It showed mountains that had rocks on them and nothing else. There was no grass, no trees—just rocks. In other words, the entire soil had been washed off those mountains and there they were, bare for all time. Down in the valley, the old, walled town was in ruins. I think there were three hundred people left in the ruins, trying to eke out a meager existence. The stream had become a flood stream. Rocks and boulders had covered the fertile fields that once existed on both sides of the stream.

There you saw the wreck of a great civilization of four hundred years ago, and nothing left except some ruins and rocks.

Well, that picture in those days, twenty-five years ago, sold conservation and forestry to the Legislature of the State of New York. And, as a result, we were enabled to get through the first important legislation for conservation. From that time on, you and I know the history. You know that a few years ago we started a more ambitious program in the State, not only for fish and game, but also for the continued purchase by the State of sub-marginal land, and for the better use of land as a whole.

It is fine to see this splendid and efficient force under the State Conservation Department. Each year that goes by, they are becoming more efficient. This is one of the activities of the State that I am very certain will keep going through all the years.

I am glad also to see these boys from the C.C.C. camps. It is just three years ago when a certain person, who was entering a political campaign, suggested that for the preservation of the forests of the Nation, for the planting of acres that needed planting, for the purposes of preventing soil erosion and, incidentally, for the purpose of helping a great many unemployed families, the Government of the United States take several hundred thousand young men and ask them to go into forests all over the United States to preserve those forests and to increase them. And I remember the comment that greeted that suggestion. Some of you who are here remember the ribald laughter about planting trees, this "crazy dream," this "political gesture."

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Well, there are five hundred and ten thousand young men today in C.C.C. camps in every State of the Union. They are preserving the forests and the soil of the United States for generations to come. The idle dream has become a fact. And I see no reason why I should not take this occasion to tell you that, in my judgment, these camps that do so much good in every State of the Union are not only good for future generations, but are doing a lot of good for this generation. I see no reason why I should not tell you that these camps, in my judgment, are going to be a permanent part of the policy of the United States Government.

Of course, I do not know whether, when the Congress meets again, we shall be able to continue them on the present very large scale. Over one million boys, during the past two years, have passed through, or are now in those camps. We have over five hundred thousand now. If things go along as they are today with a general pick-up in employment, it is my thought that in the future, the people of this country might well afford to have three hundred thousand young men go through these camps every year. We, very literally, have only scratched the surface. We have a long way to go. There is enough work in sight right in this State—I think Commissioner Osborne will bear me out—to continue the work of the C.C.C. camps for a whole generation to come.

There is one more point that I would like to make to you who are regularly in the service of the State. You are taking care of the forestry end of it. You are accomplishing an exceedingly useful purpose. There has been great progress on State lands. At the same time, one of our problems is to extend the knowledge and practice of forestry to private lands as well. This State is not nearly as badly off today as a great many other States; but, of course, lumber, timber, is a commercial asset to the business of the Nation. And so, outside of those permanent Government preserves where we are not going in for commercial timber, there are millions of acres that are being used for commercial forestry.

The professional foresters of the country, of whom I almost

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consider myself one because they made me an honorary member, sometimes use long words. They are all working today for what they call "sustained yield." Well, the average citizen does not understand what "sustained yield" means. So, for those average citizens I will translate it in this way: what we are seeking in all the privately owned forest lands from the farm woodlot up to the large lumbering operations, is the treatment of trees as a crop. Now, that does not mean merely a crop, but an annual crop.

In other words, we must start at the bottom and persuade the farmer that he must only take off his woodlot each year the amount of trees—lumber, logs, cordwood, whatever it may be—equivalent to the growth made in that woodlot that year. And so with the larger lumbering operations. There are more and more lumber companies with very large acreage who are coming to this annual crop theory. With that, we shall eliminate some of the terrific evils of the past. Not in this State, but in many States you will find abandoned communities, communities that sometimes ran as high as three thousand or five thousand people who were put in there for a lumbering operation. The timber was cut clean over a period of five or ten years; and then that community was abandoned to its fate. But if you put this thing on an annual basis, your communities in the forest areas will last for all time.

There is one other phase of it that is worth thinking about. If timber is treated as an annual crop, it becomes an asset on which you can raise money. I hope that the next session of the Congress will pass legislation which will extend credit to the owners of forest land—credit based on the asset of the crop. There is no reason why either Government or private banking industry should not consider trees just as much of an asset, if they are properly taken care of, as houses or barns or anything else on which, today, we extend credit.

These are some of the things that Conservation has to look forward to, and in the meantime the spreading of the gospel of conservation is something that we are succeeding in accomplishing. The people in the last two years have become more and more conscious of the practical economic effect of what we are doing.

Extension of the Merit System

They are becoming more and more conscious of the value to themselves—city dwellers and country dwellers—in protecting these great assets of nature that God has given us.

And so, my friends, as a very old Conservationist, I am glad to be with you here today and to congratulate you on the fine work that you are doing. May it go on through all the years.

125 ¶ A Letter on the Extension of the Merit System. September 17, 1935

My dear Mr. Kaplan:

I HAVE your letter of August 30, 1935, referring to the exemption from civil service requirements of positions in the emergency agencies of the Federal Government.

The 73d Congress, as a part of its efforts to meet the emergency with which the Nation was confronted, exempted from the civil service requirements positions in the newly created emergency agencies. The 74th Congress made some additional exemptions.

At the beginning of my Administration many of the eligible registers of the Civil Service Commission were several years old. Old registers had been extended in lieu of announcing new examinations. Hundreds of thousands of well-qualified persons who had lost their positions during the depression had been given no opportunity to qualify through open competitive examinations for Government employment. The appropriation of the Civil Service Commission had been greatly reduced and because of this fact and the widespread unemployment which resulted in excessive competition in civil service examinations the Commission was not in a position to supply immediately the personnel required by the recovery agencies. It was obvious that these agencies, if they were to be effective, would have to begin operations at once.

One of the early acts of my Administration was to secure for the Civil Service Commission a deficiency appropriation for the purpose of replenishing its registers to provide qualified personnel

Extension of the Merit System

for the regular Government agencies. The Civil Service Commission's regular appropriation has been increased, and recently I recommended to the 74th Congress a deficiency appropriation of \$548,000 to enable the Commission to hold examinations to supply the additional personnel required by the Post Office Department as a result of the Forty-Hour-Week Work Bill for postal employees.

The merit system has been and will continue to be extended during my Administration. Civil Service requirements have been applied either by Act of Congress or by Executive Order, to the majority of positions in the following Government agencies:

The Securities and Exchange Commission
The Federal Communications Commission
The Railroad Retirement Board
The Farm Credit Administration

The Guffey Coal Regulation Act, the Motor Carrier Act, the Social Security Act, the Labor Relations Act, and the Public Utilities Act contain provision for the employment of personnel in accordance with the Civil Service Law and Rules. The Soil Conservation Act provided for the classification, effective December 27th, of the great majority of positions in the Soil Conservation Service of the Department of Agriculture.

With respect to the exemption from civil service requirements of attorney positions in the newly created agencies, I wish to point out that for many years such positions in practically all the regular Government agencies have been excepted from examination requirements under Schedule A of the Civil Service Rules.

The abuses that existed for many years in connection with the employment of experts have for the most part been eliminated by the Comptroller General's decision of July 25, 1934, defining the term "experts" as used in Section 4(b) of the Securities and Exchange Act of 1934. It was held that where a statute authorizes the employment of both "experts" and other "officers and employees" it must be regarded that the term "experts" is intended to include only those exceptionally qualified by education and

To the President-Elect of the Philippine Islands

experience in a particular line to perform a special service essential to accomplishment of the legislative purpose—and who are not generally obtainable under operation of the Civil Service Laws and Regulations.

The Civil Service Commission advises me that progress is being made in replenishing its registers and I hope that within the near future the Civil Service Law and Rules may be applied to agencies that are now excepted from civil service requirements—at least to the extent that it is determined that such agencies are to become established branches of the Government.

Very sincerely yours,

H. Eliot Kaplan, Esq.,
National Civil Service Reform League,
New York, N. Y.

126 ¶ Congratulations on the Election of the
First President-Elect of the Philippine Islands.
September 21, 1935

My most cordial congratulations upon your election to the highest office within the gift of the Filipino people. Your overwhelming choice by the electorate is a fitting culmination of your many years of patriotic labor in behalf of your country.

Hon. Manuel L. Quezon,
President-Elect of the Commonwealth Government
of the Philippine Islands,
Manila, P. I.

NOTE: For a history of the events leading to the election of the first President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, see Item 34 of Vol. III and Item 34A, this volume.

127 ¶ The President Asks for the Counsel and Help of the Clergy of America.

September 23, 1935

(The following letter was sent to many thousands of clergymen throughout the United States.)

YOUR high calling brings you intimate daily contact not only with your own parishioners, but with people generally in your community. I am sure you see the problems of your people with wise and sympathetic understanding.

Because of the grave responsibilities of my office, I am turning to representative clergymen for counsel and advice, feeling confident that no group can give more accurate or unbiased views.

I am particularly anxious that the new social security legislation just enacted, for which we have worked so long, providing for old-age pensions, aid for crippled children and unemployment insurance, shall be carried out in keeping with the high purposes with which this law was enacted. It is also vitally important that the works program shall be administered to provide employment at useful work, and that our unemployed as well as the Nation as a whole may derive the greatest possible benefits.

I shall deem it a favor if you will write me about conditions in your community. Tell me where you feel our Government can better serve our people. We can solve our many problems, but no one man or single group can do it. We shall have to work together for the common end of better spiritual and material conditions for the American people.

May I have your counsel and your help? I am leaving on a short vacation, but will be back in Washington in a few weeks and I will deeply appreciate your writing to me.

Very sincerely yours,

128 ¶ A Letter to the National Federation of Federal Employees on the Extension of the Merit System. September 24, 1935

My dear Mr. Steward:

I AM pleased to acknowledge receipt of the letter of September 6, 1935, from the Executive Council of the National Federation of Federal Employees urging strongly the strengthening and extension of the Federal civil service system.

The 73d Congress, as a part of its effort to meet the emergency with which the Nation was confronted, exempted from civil service requirements positions in the newly created emergency agencies. The 74th Congress made some additional exceptions.

In March, 1933, many of the eligible registers of the Civil Service Commission were several years old. It had been the policy of the Commission to extend old registers rather than announce new examinations. Hundreds of thousands of well-qualified persons who had lost their positions during the depression had been given no opportunity to qualify through open competitive examinations for Government employment. The appropriation of the Civil Service Commission had been greatly reduced, and because of this fact and the widespread unemployment which resulted in excessive competition in civil service examinations, the Commission was not in a position to supply immediately the personnel required by the emergency agencies. It was obvious, of course, that these agencies, if they were to be effective, would have to begin operations at once.

One of the early acts of my Administration was to secure for the Civil Service Commission a deficiency appropriation for the purpose of replenishing its registers to provide qualified personnel for the regular Government agencies. The Civil Service Commission's regular appropriation has also been increased, and recently I recommended to the 74th Congress a deficiency appropriation of \$548,000 to enable the Commission to provide

A Letter on Navy Day

through open competitive examinations the additional personnel required by the Post Office Department as a result of the Forty-Hour-Week Work Bill for postal employees.

The merit system has been and will continue to be extended during my Administration. Civil service requirements have been applied either by Act of Congress or by Executive Order to the majority of the positions in the following Government agencies:

The Securities and Exchange Commission
The Federal Communications Commission
The Railroad Retirement Board
The Farm Credit Administration.

The Guffey Coal Regulation Act, the Motor Carrier Act, the Social Security Act, the Labor Relations Act and Public Utilities Act contain provisions for the employment, with some exceptions, of personnel in accordance with the Civil Service Law and rules. The Soil Conservation Act provides for the classification, effective December 27th, of the great majority of positions in the Soil Conservation Service of the Department of Agriculture.

The Civil Service Commission is making progress in replenishing its registers and I hope that within the near future the Civil Service Law and rules may be applied to agencies that are now excepted from civil service requirements—at least to the extent that it is determined that such agencies are to become established branches of the Government.

Very sincerely yours,

Luther C. Steward, Esq.,
National Federation of Federal Employees,
Labor Building, Washington, D. C.

129 ¶ *A Letter on Navy Day. September 24, 1935*

My dear Mr. Secretary:

It is with pleasure that I learn of the plans to observe Navy Day in accordance with the annual custom of setting apart the birthday of the late President Theodore Roosevelt for that occasion.

Arms, Ammunition and Implements of War

In the unsettled conditions existing throughout the world it is imperative that we should heed the needs of national defense. By the passage of the Vinson-Trammell Bill which authorizes the upbuilding of our Navy to the limits of existing treaties, our national legislation gave very definite expression of its purpose to increase the strength of the American Navy to a degree commensurate with America's needs, interests and responsibilities.

Happily recalling my own personal association with our Navy, I take pride in endorsing the commemoration of Navy Day this year and in expressing my own appreciation and that of our fellow countrymen in the Navy's past achievements; also the conviction that the officers and men of the Navy will continue to justify the faith and confidence that their civilian compatriots have always accorded them.

Very sincerely yours,

The Honorable,
The Secretary of the Navy,
Washington, D. C.

130 ¶ The President Defines Arms, Ammunition and Implements of War under the Neutrality Legislation. Proclamation No. 2138.

September 25, 1935

WHEREAS Section 2 of a Joint Resolution of Congress, entitled "Joint Resolution providing for the prohibition of the export of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to belligerent countries; the prohibition of the transportation of arms, ammunition, and implements of war by vessels of the United States for the use of belligerent States; for the registration and licensing of persons engaged in the business of manufacturing, exporting, or importing arms, ammunition, or implements of war; and restricting travel by American citizens on belligerent ships during war," approved August 31, 1935, provides in part as follows:

Arms, Ammunition and Implements of War

“The President is hereby authorized to proclaim upon recommendation of the Board from time to time a list of articles which shall be considered arms, ammunition, and implements of war for the purposes of this section,”

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority conferred upon me by the said Joint Resolution of Congress, and pursuant to the recommendation of the National Munitions Control Board, declare and proclaim that the articles listed below shall be considered arms, ammunition, and implements of war for the purposes of Section 2 of the said Joint Resolution of Congress:

CATEGORY I

- (1) Rifles and carbines using ammunition in excess of cal. 26.5, and their barrels;
- (2) Machine guns, automatic rifles, and machine pistols of all calibers, and their barrels;
- (3) Guns, howitzers, and mortars of all calibers, their mountings and barrels;
- (4) Ammunition for the arms enumerated under (1) and (2) above, i.e., high-power steel-jacketed ammunition in excess of cal. 26.5; filled and unfilled projectiles and propellants with a web thickness of .015 inch or greater for the projectiles of the arms enumerated under (3), above;
- (5) Grenades, bombs, torpedoes, and mines, filled or unfilled, and apparatus for their use or discharge;
- (6) Tanks, military armored vehicles, and armored trains.

CATEGORY II

Vessels of war of all kinds, including aircraft carriers and submarines.

CATEGORY III

- (1) Aircraft, assembled or dismantled, both heavier and lighter than air, which are designed, adapted, and intended for aerial

Arms, Ammunition and Implements of War

combat by the use of machine guns or of artillery or for the carrying and dropping of bombs, or which are equipped with, or which by reason of design or construction are prepared for, any of the appliances referred to in paragraph (2), below;

(2) Aerial gun mounts and frames, bomb racks, torpedo carriers, and bomb or torpedo release mechanisms.

CATEGORY IV

Revolvers and automatic pistols of a weight in excess of 1 pound 6 ounces (630 grams), using ammunition in excess of cal. 26.5, and ammunition therefor.

CATEGORY V

(1) Aircraft assembled or dismantled, both heavier and lighter than air, other than those included in Category III;

(2) Propellers or air screws, fuselages, hulls, tail units, and under-carriage units;

(3) Aircraft engines.

CATEGORY VI

(1) Livens projectors and flame throwers;

(2) Mustard gas, lewisite, ethyldichlorarsine, and methyldichlorarsine.

NOTE: On September 24th the National Munitions Control Board (see note to Item 117 of this volume) held its first meeting and recommended a list of the articles to be considered as arms, ammunition and implements of war,

for the purposes of the neutrality legislation, approved August 31, 1935 (Senate Joint Resolution No. 173; 49 Stat. 1081; see Item 117, this volume). The list was embodied in the foregoing Proclamation.

131 ¶ A Greeting to the American Protestant Hospital Association. September 25, 1935

My dear Doctor Jarrell:

IT is with pleasure that I send my personal greetings to the American Protestant Hospital Association meeting in annual convention at St. Louis. I gladly embrace this opportunity to acknowledge the contributions you are making to human welfare.

Generous American people have always shown a disposition to help the afflicted and to make life happier for an ever-increasing percentage of the population. Our hospitals, and particularly those administered by non-profit religious organizations, symbolize better than any other institution the depth as well as the dynamic quality of this national characteristic.

This country at last is emerging from the great economic depression which has engulfed the entire Nation for six years and some parts of our population for a much longer period. Out of this experience there is evolving a keener appreciation of social values than obtained when our thinking was more individualistic.

Because of our changed and changing viewpoint regarding our social responsibilities, the hospitals are destined to grow in the important services they render communities. This growth, I think, will be along two major lines: first, to provide better treatment and better accommodations for the patients and thus return them to productive activity in minimum time; and, second, they will exert positive health influences and disseminate information on all matters concerning the health of communities.

With best wishes for the success of your meeting, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Reverend Charles Jarrell, D.D.,
President, American Protestant Hospital Assn.,
New Jefferson Hotel, St. Louis, Missouri

(This letter was read at the convention of the Association in St. Louis, Mo., September 29, 1935.)

132 ¶ A Greeting to the College and University Students. September 26, 1935

My dear Doctor Gates:

IT is no perfunctory matter to send a message of greeting to the students in a great university. With the million other college and university students who are this month starting another year of intellectual adventure, you constitute the best testing ground of our troubled social and economic life. The Government of the United States, as well as the Governments of the several States, will ultimately be about what you in the decades ahead decide those Governments should be.

Therefore, I congratulate you upon your chance to prepare yourselves for the leadership you will have opportunity to exert.

Fortunate it is that university campuses these days are dominated more than formerly by a spirit of realism. Matters of vital importance in the life of today are subjects of study and discussion in classrooms where these issues may be examined dispassionately in the light of all the pertinent facts, and against a background of their historical development. Students have a chance on their campuses to examine under the most favorable conditions the plans and specifications proposed by various architects of the social structure. Real students are intellectually honest. They are freer from prejudices than their elders. One of the surest safeguards of American democracy is the fact that a million young people year by year study America's historic ideals in the colleges and universities.

May I wish for you a pleasant and stimulating year of study?

Very sincerely yours,

Doctor Thomas S. Gates,
University of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

133 ¶ A Letter to the National Recreation Congress on the Importance of Recreational Facilities. September 26, 1935

My dear Doctor Finley:

You know how heartily I believe in the adequate provision of opportunities for recreation and how through the years I have cared for the work of the National Recreation Association. I rejoice in the growing public interest in this subject as evidenced by the fine facilities now being provided by the Government—Federal, State and local—for the enjoyment of the people.

Of even greater importance in my opinion is the definite recognition that the field of recreation is a fruitful one for those desiring to render notable public service. I earnestly hope that in each of our local communities men and women interested in the public welfare will give increasing thought and time to this great cooperative democratic method of providing recreation for all the people untrammelled by any motive except that of living fully and richly.

Please express to the recreation leaders gathered together at Chicago and to all those serving in the recreation movement the appreciation of the Federal Government for their cooperation and loyal service in carrying forward recreation projects of the various emergency agencies.

I believe the exchange of information and ideas among the leaders at the National Recreation Congress will result in carrying forward the recreation movement with the same high enthusiasm which has always characterized your group.

Very sincerely yours,

Doctor John H. Finley,
National Recreation Congress,
Sherman Hotel, Chicago, Illinois

(This letter was read at a convention of the Association in Chicago, Ill., September 30, 1935.)

134 ¶ A Presidential Statement on the Naval Construction Policy of the United States.

September 27, 1935

THE American naval building policy is precisely and without change what it has been during the past two years and a half: to bring the Navy up to the strength provided for in the Washington and London treaties. This program carried out in accordance with acts of Congress will bring the United States Navy up to treaty strength by 1942.

The United States adheres to the Washington and London treaties. Only a failure to renew these treaties or a renunciation of these treaties could change American policy, and then only in the event that other Nations exceed the limits provided by these treaties.

135 ¶ An Address on the Accomplishments and Future Aims for Agriculture. Fremont, Nebraska.

September 28, 1935

IT is good to get into Nebraska again. It is almost exactly three years ago that I visited farms in this State; at that time I saw farmers threshing thirty-cent wheat and shelling twenty-cent corn. Much has happened during the three years that followed. At that time the prices of farm products were falling lower and even lower as markets vanished and surpluses accumulated; farm buildings and farm equipment were deteriorating month by month; soil fertility was being sapped as farmers struggled to raise enough bushels to meet their debts and their taxes. Country schools were closing and, most disheartening of all, thousands of farmers were losing their homes by foreclosure. That was true not only in this part of the great West, but it was true also in practically every State of the Union—North, South, East and West. That man-made depression—because it was that—was, as

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we know, followed in many parts of the country by the most severe drought in our recorded history.

I am taking this opportunity, my friends, of stopping here in Fremont to deliver to you a message of thanks. Through you I deliver that same message of thanks to the farmers and farm families throughout the Nation.

We all know the heroic story of the pioneers. We know the hardships and the troubles that they suffered. If ever we need a national demonstration that the pioneering spirit that originally settled this country still lives, unshaken and undiminished, the farmers of America have proved it in the years through which we have just passed. I well realize the suffering and the desolation of those years. I know the faith and hope, the patience and courage you have shown. For this I applaud you; for this I extend the thanks of the Nation to the farmers of the Nation.

Three years ago I did not promise the millennium for agriculture. But I did promise that I should attempt to meet an intolerable situation—to battle that situation in every way that human effort and human ingenuity could devise. I said that I should do my best, and that if my efforts proved unsuccessful, I should tell the country frankly and try something else. But that was not necessary.

In those days I was not meeting a theory, I was meeting a condition. Foremost among the efforts of my Administration when we came into office in March, 1933, were practical means to improve the situation on the farms of the country. I recognized in March, 1933, that efforts to improve agriculture should of necessity be twofold. We should attempt first of all to lift the immediate burdens by raising farm prices and by lightening the burden of debt. Secondly, I pledged myself to long-term efforts extending beyond these immediate emergency measures to stabilize American agriculture by long-term planning.

Even before I went to the White House I put into practice a theory which older and more cynical persons told me was impossible. Up to that time the farmers of America had been unable to choose, by any substantial majority, among three or four

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plans aimed at restoring farm purchasing power and farm prosperity. People in Washington told me that you could never get farmers anywhere, farmers as a whole, to agree to anything. Nevertheless, at the famous conferences, representative of every section of the country and of every farm organization, held in Washington in the spring of 1933, a very large majority of the farm leaders agreed on what you and I now know as the Agricultural Adjustment Plan. This plan has been in operation for only two years and a half. You know its general results. You know that there have been many imperfections in it, and that we still have much to learn in providing better administration for it, in amending it from time to time, and in fitting it in to world conditions, which each year show tremendous changes.

The plan itself, as you know, was based on the cooperative efforts of the farmers themselves and on the broad economic theory that the industrial part of the population of the Nation could not prosper and return people to work unless the agricultural part of the Nation were in a position to purchase the output of the industrial part. It was based on knowledge of the fact that for the farmers of the Nation the long, downhill road to depression began not in 1929, but way back in 1920; that from that date on through the so-called boom days of the next nine years, the debts of the farms and farmers mounted while their assets and earnings slid down hill.

And so, coming back to you after three years, I experience the very great pleasure of recognizing that the cooperative efforts in which the farmers themselves, the Congress and my Administration have engaged, have borne good fruit.

The problems of the early days of the Administration were not only to raise crop values from starvation levels, but also to save farm families from actual loss of their homes and their chattels.

The burden of agricultural debt, it is true, has not been eliminated, but it has been decisively and definitely lessened. Loans have been made through the Farm Credit Administration to nearly half a million farmers in this country since May, 1933.

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Those loans amount to more than one billion eight hundred millions. Eighty-seven percent of this great sum was used to refinance existing farm indebtedness. The annual interest saving of farmers whose debts have been refinanced is about a quarter of all of the interest previously paid. Over 850,000 farm families are making annual savings this year in interest alone amounting to more than \$55,000,000. The interest rate which farmers have to pay on the farm mortgage debts that have been refinanced by the Farm Credit Administration is the lowest rate in the whole history of our country.

My second effort in the immediate improvement of the farmer's position was to get him not only a relatively, but an absolutely, better return for his products. In approaching that problem we moved to free our monetary system from bondage, to permit money to serve the people rather than to force people to serve money. I deliberately chose to disregard those who said that before a balance could be produced in our economic life, almost universal bankruptcy would be necessary through the process of continuing deflation. I held then, as I hold today, that the appropriate measures to take were rather to improve prices, particularly in farm commodities, to such an extent that the things the farmer had to sell would enable him to buy the things that he needed to support life, and to afford him a fair degree of security. From the summer of 1929, to the time when I took office in 1933, the prices of farm products, that is to say, the things that the farmer had to sell, had declined by 62 percent, while the prices of the things the farmer had to buy had fallen only 35 percent. Thus, the farmer of the Nation, on the average, had to use twice as many bushels of wheat, twice as many bushels of corn, twice as many tons of hay, twice as many hogs, twice as many bales of cotton, twice as much of all of his products, in order to buy the same amount of things that he needed. The closing of that gap was an important objective of this Administration. It still is, and we shall bend our efforts to hold the gains that we have made. The gap that was the measure of the farmer's despair and dis-

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tress, after two and a half years of effort, in large part has been closed.

Many factors, as you know, were involved in this readjustment. Our monetary policy was one. The drought was another. Increased demand for products caused by the economic revival was another, and the operations of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration was still another.

I need not tell you of the origins and the purposes and the methods of that Triple A Act. That is history, and, I submit, honorable history. Moreover, the farmers know how the Act has worked. They know from the contents of their own pocketbooks that their income has been increased. The record is there to prove the case—an increase of \$1,000,000,000 in farm cash income in 1933 over the year 1932; an increase of \$1,900,000,000 in 1934 over 1932 and an estimated increase of \$2,400,000,000 in this year of 1935 over 1932. Yes, that makes a total increase of \$5,300,000,000 over what the farmer's income would have been if the 1932 level had been continued. Is it surprising, in the light of this improved income, that the farm implement factories in Illinois and New York, the automobile factories of Michigan, the steel mills of Pennsylvania, are springing into renewed life and activity? Is it any wonder that smoke is pouring once more from chimneys long smokeless? Is it any wonder that workers long without regular jobs are going back to work in increasing numbers? Now, with export surpluses no longer pressing down on the farmer's welfare, and with fairer prices, farmers really have a chance for the first time in this generation to profit from improved methods. With agriculture on the way to a condition of prosperity, it is possible now for the farmers of the Nation, in cooperation with their Government, to look to the longer future.

Three years ago, in the desperate struggle to keep want from the threshold, farmers, no matter how much they might have wished to adopt cropping practices that would conserve and build the fertility of their soil, were compelled to raise more bushels of wheat and corn, more pounds of cotton or tobacco

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than their land could properly sustain through the years. But with this compelling necessity now passed, they can put scientific crop rotation systems into effect and save their soil fertility. That, my friends, is of equal interest in Pennsylvania and in Nebraska, in Maine and in Georgia. The dust storms that a few months ago drifted from the Western plains to the Atlantic Ocean were a warning to the whole Nation of what will happen if we waste our heritage of soil fertility, the ultimate source of our wealth and of life itself.

I have not the time to talk with you in detail about what the Government is trying to do to prevent soil erosion and floods. You know much of that great work to encourage forestation, to give people the opportunity voluntarily to move off submarginal land and on to adequate land where they can make both ends meet—in other words, to use every square mile of the United States for the purpose to which it is best adapted. That in its accomplishment is a project of a hundred years. But for the first time in the history of the Nation, we have started on that project because for the first time we have begun to understand that we must harness Nature in accordance with Nature's laws, instead of despoiling Nature in violation of Nature's laws.

Perhaps the most important gain of all is the development of the farmer's ability, through cooperation with other farmers, to direct and control the conditions of his life. Programs now in effect under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration are planned and operated by the farmers themselves through nearly 5,000 county production-control associations, which are manned by more than 100,000 committeemen and which number among their members more than 3,000,000 adjustment contract signers. Those are pretty big figures, but it is a grand sign of farm solidarity. Remember, the Government's part in this program is merely to supply the unifying element that the farmers themselves, in their past efforts, found so essential to success. That, it seems to me, is the true function of Government under our Constitution—to promote the general welfare, not by interfering

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unduly with individual liberties, but by bringing to the aid of the individual those powers of Government which are essential to assure the continuance of the inalienable rights which the Constitution is intended to guarantee. It is democracy in the good old American sense of the word.

The Government's policy toward agriculture has been evolving ever since the days of the first President of the United States, George Washington. I know it will continue to evolve, and I hope no one thinks that the present machinery is perfect and cannot be improved. What counts is not so much the methods of the moment as the pathways that are marked out down the years. I like to think of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, not merely as a temporary means of rescue for a great industry, but as the expression of an enduring principle carved in stone by a Nation which has come to maturity—a Nation which has forever left behind the old irresponsible ways of its youth, a Nation facing the realities of today and prudently taking thought for the morrow. I like to think that never again will this Nation let its agriculture fall back into decay, and that, instead, the farmers of America will always be able to guard the principles of liberty and democracy for which their farmer ancestors fought. I like to think that agricultural adjustment is an expression, in concrete form, of the human rights those farmer patriots sought to win when they stood at the bridge at Concord, when they proclaimed the Declaration of Independence, and when they perpetuated these ideals by the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. Methods and machinery may change, but principles go on, and I have faith that, no matter what attempts may be made to tear it down, the principle of farm equality expressed by agricultural adjustment will not die.

You who live in this section of Nebraska occupy what is very nearly the geographical center of the United States—as much land west of you as lies east of you, as much land north of you as lies south of you. It is, therefore, fitting that at this place I should again pay tribute through you to the great farming popu-

The Rio de Janeiro Protocol

lation of the United States and those dependent on them for the splendid courage through long years of adversity which you have shown — true to the pioneering spirit that would not quit, that made the best of well-nigh hopeless conditions — that had faith enough in yourselves, enough faith in your country to keep your balance, to keep your perspective, to keep your good nature and your continuing hope.

Today you are marching along with heads still held high. Your hope has materialized, at least in part. Your faith has been justified. Your courage has been rewarded.

NOTE: On this Western trip, in addition to the addresses printed as Items 135, 139, 140 and 141 of this volume, I also made short informal talks at Seymour, Ind., Sept. 27; Washington, Ind., Sept. 27; Vincennes, Ind., Sept. 27; Flora, Ill., Sept. 27; Council Bluffs, Iowa, Sept. 28; Grand Island, Nebr., Sept. 28; Gothenberg, Nebr., Sept. 28; Omaha, Nebr., Sept. 28; North Platte, Nebr., Sept. 28; Salt Lake

City, Utah, Sept. 29; Caliente, Nev., Sept. 29; Wadsworth Hospital, Los Angeles, Cal., Oct. 1; Griffith Park, Los Angeles, Cal., Oct. 1. We then boarded the U.S.S. *Houston* for a cruise through the Panama Canal back to the East Coast, landing at Charleston, S. C. (see Item 149, this volume), on Oct. 23, 1935. On the way, we visited Cocos Island, Panama, and San Blas Islands.

136 ¶ Congratulations on the Ratification of the Rio de Janeiro Protocol. September 28, 1935

I desire to express to Your Excellency my warm personal congratulations on the exchange of ratifications of the Rio de Janeiro Protocol, and on the important contribution thus made to the cause of peace.

His Excellency, Alfonso Lopez,
President of the Republic of Colombia,
Bogota, Colombia

On the occasion of the exchange of ratifications of the Rio de Janeiro Protocol, I send Your Excellency my heartiest personal

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congratulations on this significant development in the progress of orderly and civilized relations between Nations.

His Excellency, Oscar R. Benavides,
President of the Republic of Peru,
Lima, Peru

NOTE: The instruments signed by the delegations of Peru and Colombia regarding the Leticia dispute about which I sent my telegrams of May 21, 1934 (see Item 88, Vol. III), although approved by the Peruvian Government on November, 3, 1934, were not approved by the Colombian Congress until 1935. The ratifications were then exchanged at Bogota on September 27, 1935. This exchange was the occasion of the telegrams of congratulation sent by me to the Presidents of Colombia and Peru.

137 ¶ Presidential Statement on the 1936 Budget. September 29, 1935

IN MY Budget Message of January 3, 1935, I made the following statement:

“In order to promote more satisfactory methods of budgetary control in the Government, I propose this year to inaugurate the policy of having a Summation of the Budget prepared for publication immediately after the Congress has acted on all financial matters. This summation will be ready on or before July 1, unless the Congress is still in session. It will be presented along the lines of the General Budget Summary and supporting schedules, including Statements Nos. 1 and 2, as shown in this Budget. It will exhibit the revenue estimates, so revised by the Treasury, as to reflect any changes in the economic situation during the preceding six or seven months and also any revisions made by the Congress in the tax laws. It will provide a complete summary of all appropriations and expenditure authorizations made by the Congress and related estimates of expenditures. Lastly, it will indicate the need for executive or administra-

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tive measures in controlling the execution of the Budget during the fiscal year 1936."

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

Since so great a part of the Federal program is influenced by economic conditions, it is appropriate to review briefly the changes which have taken place during the past fiscal year.

At the opening of the year in July, 1934, and despite noticeable improvement during the preceding twelve months, business was in slight decline because of accumulation of inventories, and because of the drought which affected seriously a vast area of agricultural land. There was a lag in the activities of heavy industries. Some pickup was apparent in the fall; and subsequently, output expanded to a level higher than that of the preceding winter. During the spring of 1935, normal rainfall assured favorable crop conditions, and expenditures for durable goods and equipment showed a steady increase. Automobiles, electrical appliances and household furniture were sold in much larger quantities and demand for farm and industrial machinery increased considerably. Automobile output, during the first six months of 1935, almost equaled that of the like period in 1929. Expansion also occurred in the construction of buildings other than public works, following three years of relative inactivity.

The burden of private debt and of interest payments was lightened during the year both by a further decline in the volume of indebtedness and by a general reduction in rates of interest. Mortgages on farm and urban houses were being refunded at lower rates, partly by Government agencies or as a result of Government policy. There was a gradual improvement in real property values and some revival in demand for mortgages by private investors. In the capital market a large volume of security offerings for refunding purposes was sold during the spring and summer.

Industrial payrolls were nearly 8 percent larger than in the preceding fiscal year, and dividends paid by representative corporations increased. Prices for agricultural products were higher,

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and farm income for the country as a whole, including rental and benefit payments, increased nearly 20 percent. The increases noted are to be compared with an increase of about 4 percent in the cost of living.

On the whole economic conditions were decidedly better for the fiscal year just closed than in the preceding year, and of course vastly better than in 1933 and still better than in 1932. We have witnessed larger distribution of goods to consumers and a reduction in plant inventories; a closer relationship between industrial and agricultural prices; further reduction of the burden of private indebtedness; an increase in national income. At this date inventories are low. Industry has shown its strength against the current of seasonal slackness, and output and trade are expanding. Capital market conditions are favorable. Crops are expected to be larger this season and to yield farmers more income than in the past year.

REVIEW OF THE FISCAL YEAR 1935

Total expenditures of the Government for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1935, amounted to \$7,375,825,166, against an estimated expenditure shown in the Budget of last January of \$8,581,069,026. Actual spending during the year was less than the estimate, therefore, by \$1,205,243,860. Of this difference between estimated and actual expenditures, nearly a billion dollars was for account of recovery and relief, and some two hundred millions for account of the regular Government agencies. For recovery and relief there was expended \$4,262,257,208 against an estimate of \$5,259,802,852. It may be pointed out here that when the Budget was made up last winter it was expected that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation would expend on all accounts, except relief, during the then current year the net sum of \$556,000,000, whereas the operations of the Corporation actually resulted in a net receipt of \$107,000,000, a difference between estimated and actual expenditures of \$663,000,000. Recovery and relief expenditures by other agencies were less than estimates by some \$334,000,000.

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Expenditures for the operation and maintenance of regular departments and establishments of the Government (including refunds of taxes erroneously collected, but exclusive of the service of the public debt) were estimated last January in amount \$1,913,700,174. Actual expenditures for the same purposes were \$1,719,083,353.

For interest on the public debt there was expended \$820,926,353 as compared with an estimate of \$835,000,000; while expenditures for statutory debt retirement were \$573,558,250 against an estimate of \$572,566,000.

Treasury reports at June 30th showed total receipts for the year in the amount of \$3,800,467,202 or approximately \$89,000,000 above the estimate of \$3,711,650,688. Internal Revenue receipts, including processing taxes on farm products, amounted to \$3,277,690,028 as against an estimate of \$3,197,466,507. Customs receipts were \$343,353,033 against an estimate of \$287,000,000. Miscellaneous revenue, including realization upon assets, amounted to \$179,424,140, whereas the estimate was \$227,184,181.

The deficit at the end of the year 1935 was \$3,575,357,964. Deducting \$573,558,250 for statutory debt retirements, the resulting net deficit was \$3,001,799,714. This net deficit, after subtracting the decrease in the general fund balance, the excess of trust fund receipts over trust fund expenditures, and the amount of retirement of national bank notes from gold increment, accounts for an increase of the total outstanding gross public debt from \$27,053,141,414 at the close of the fiscal year 1934 to \$28,700,892,624 at the close of the fiscal year 1935. In other words, it is worth noting that the net increase in the actual gross public debt was \$1,647,751,210.

CONDITION OF THE FISCAL YEAR 1936

The total expenditure requirements for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, are estimated at \$7,752,332,000, of which \$2,301,508,000 is for account of the regular establishments of the Government, including refunds of receipts. Expenditure for the serv-

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ice of the public debt is estimated in amount \$1,296,000,000, and \$4,154,824,000 is set aside for recovery and relief.

The estimated expenditures for the regular establishments for the fiscal year 1936 are \$582,425,000 greater than expenditures for 1935, due largely to the increase in the Government's contributions to the Civil Service Retirement and Disability Fund and the Adjusted Service Certificate Fund; restoration of employees' compensation; enactment of legislation granting a 40-hour week to postal employees; appropriation of an amount equal to 30 percent of customs receipts for benefit payments on agricultural exports; increases in pensions and compensation to our war veterans; the inclusion of substantial public works program in regular expenditures rather than under recovery and relief expenditures; and the increase in appropriations for national defense. The amount estimated to be expended for recovery and relief is slightly less than was spent for this purpose last year and is considerably under the estimate in the 1936 Budget.

The work relief program designed to put 3½ million men on useful work has moved more slowly than I hoped, but is now accelerating with reasonable assurance of providing adequate employment during the coming months. While some of the heavier projects will continue under construction beyond June 30, 1936, the major part of the funds will be expended for improvements that will permit quicker employment.

The definitely encouraging factors in the economic situation set out above are reflected and confirmed in the Treasury receipts of Federal taxes.

Tax receipts for the fiscal year 1935 showed an upward trend. Likewise, recently estimated receipts for the current year forecast total collections from original sources of more than \$478,000,000 in excess of the amount set out in the 1936 Budget last January.

Legislative acts during the last session of Congress which affect Federal revenue in the fiscal year 1936 are (1) the extension to June 30 or July 31, 1937, of Title IV, as amended, parts I, II, III, and IV of Title V, as amended, of the Revenue Act of 1932;

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(2) "An Act to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act"; (3) "An Act to levy an excise tax upon carriers and an income tax upon their employees, and for other purposes"; (4) "the Bituminous Coal Conservation Act of 1935"; (5) "The Revenue Act of 1935"; and (6) "The Social Security Act." The Bituminous Coal Conservation Act is not expected to provide significant revenue in the fiscal year 1936; and, with minor exceptions, the Revenue Act of 1935 and the Social Security Act do not affect the revenues until the fiscal year 1937.

Estimated receipts from all sources for the current fiscal year amount to \$4,470,349,140, as set out in detail in supporting schedule numbered one.

It will be understood that estimates of receipts contemplate continued collection of processing taxes. If the attack which has been made upon this act is sustained we will have to face the problem of financing existing contracts for benefit payments out of some form of new taxes.

The deficit for the fiscal year 1936 is forecast at \$3,281,982,860. Deducting statutory debt retirement, the resulting net deficit would be \$2,730,982,860.

It may be pointed out in this connection that erroneous and gloomy predictions have frequently been voiced in some quarters to the effect that heavy increases in taxation will be required to balance the Budget and retire our public debt. The underlying tax structure of the Government is now stronger than ever before in our history, and as normal business returns will produce revenues adequate for all essential purposes. The prevailing rate of recovery points to the speedy decline of Federal expenditures for emergency activities. The 1937 Budget is now being prepared with a view to sharply decreasing the spread between income and outgo. Thus it is clear to me that the Federal Government under provisions of present tax schedules will not need new taxes or increased rates in existing taxes to meet the expense of its necessary annual operations and to retire its public debt.

Voluntary Agreements under N.I.R.A.

APPROPRIATIONS

The estimates of appropriations included in the Budget and supplemental estimates submitted by me to Congress after the Budget was presented aggregated \$8,679,441,626. The Budget included an item of \$300,000,000 for regular public works. This item was later reduced by me, in a formal recommendation made to Congress, by \$76,000,000. Appropriations made by Congress aggregated \$8,671,427,171, a difference of only \$8,014,455 exclusive of the reductions subsequently made by me in the public works estimate.

It will be observed that the deficit for the current year, like those for the preceding two years, is due entirely to expenditures contemplated on account of the emergency and almost wholly on account of unemployment relief. Moreover, it is anticipated that the deficit for this year will be about \$300,000,000 less than the deficit for 1935. This reduction in the deficit can be realized, however, only in the event that no new items of expenditure are added to the year's program as set forth in this summation.

138 ¶ White House Statement on Voluntary Agreements under N.I.R.A. September 30, 1935

THE WHITE HOUSE announced that, to assist industry in taking advantage of the suggestion of the President as to the use of the opportunities afforded by the National Industrial Recovery Act for voluntary agreements under N.I.R.A., the President had by Executive Order No. 7192 of September 26, 1935, delegated to the Federal Trade Commission authority to approve certain trade practice provisions contained in voluntary agreements submitted pursuant to Section 4 (a) of Title I of said Act.

In a letter of August 24, 1935, to Senator Harrison and Chairman Doughton the President said:

“Pending determination by the Congress of whether further industrial legislation will be enacted, it is hoped that

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industrial groups will, in increasing numbers, avail themselves of the provisions of the Joint Resolution extending National Industrial Recovery Administration which permit agreements (1) putting into effect the requirements of Section 7 (a), minimum wages, maximum hours and prohibition of child labor, and (2) prohibiting unfair competitive practices which offend against existing law. Such agreements, when approved by the President, as to matters covered by the Joint Resolution, are exempted expressly from the penalties of the anti-trust laws, including criminal prosecutions, injunctions and treble damages. By such action, industry can undoubtedly do much to preserve the very substantial gains made while the codes were in effect. Applications for approval of such agreements should be filed with the Federal Trade Commission.

"Industry may continue to take advantage of the familiar trade practice conference procedure of the Federal Trade Commission."

The President has requested the Federal Trade Commission and the National Recovery Administration to cooperate in handling voluntary agreements under N.I.R.A. in the following manner:

1. All proposed agreements for voluntary industrial cooperation submitted under N.I.R.A., as extended, shall be filed at the office of the Federal Trade Commission. If in addition to provisions for collective bargaining, maximum hours, minimum wages, etc., as required by Section 7 (a) of N.I.R.A., any such agreement also contains trade practice provisions covered by numbered clause 2 of the proviso of Section 2 of the Joint Resolution extending N.I.R.A., each of the two classes of provisions shall appear in a separate title. . . .

The proponent of any such proposed agreement for voluntary industrial cooperation may file simultaneously therewith, at the office of the Federal Trade Commission, any other provisions, viz., provisions not entitled to exemptions under either num-

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bered clause 1 or numbered clause 2 of the proviso of Section 2 of the Joint Resolution extending N.I.R.A., it being understood that such provisions are submitted for approval of the Commission under its trade-practice conference procedure.

2. Promptly upon the filing of a proposed voluntary industrial agreement with the Federal Trade Commission, the Trade Commission shall refer the title containing "labor provisions," to N.R.A. N.R.A. shall consider such proposed labor provisions through a mechanism similar to that which it has used in the past, including a Labor Advisory Unit and an Industrial Advisory Unit (set up in conference with the Department of Labor and the Department of Commerce, respectively), and the holding of open hearings. As a result of such procedure, N.R.A. shall in due course determine whether or not to recommend approval of the proposed "labor provisions."

3. Having made its decision, N.R.A. shall return such provisions and recommendations, supported by a transcript of the hearings and its findings of fact, to the Trade Commission.

4. Pending consideration of the labor provisions of the proposed voluntary industrial agreement by N.R.A., the Trade Commission shall examine such agreement to see whether it includes a title containing trade-practice provisions covered by numbered clause 2 of the proviso of Section 2 of the Joint Resolution extending N.I.R.A. If the agreement contains such title the Commission shall proceed after notice, hearings and other procedure duly had to determine whether or not to approve or disapprove the same. If its determination shall be in favor of disapproval, the Commission shall forthwith make an order to such effect under authority delegated to it by Executive Order No. 7192 of September 26, 1935, and specifically refer to such Executive Order. If the Commission shall favor approval of such trade-practice provisions, the Commission shall transmit to the President the labor provisions and recommendation of N.R.A., if favorable, together with a statement as to the Commission's approval of the other provisions of the agreement, for the President's action on the labor provisions. The Commission

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shall await receipt from the President of notification of his action upon the labor provisions of such agreement and upon notification of such approval shall make an order approving such trade-practice provisions under the authority delegated to it by the said Executive Order No. 7192, and specifically referring to such Executive Order. After approval by the President and the Federal Trade Commission, the agreement shall become binding upon the parties thereto in accordance with its terms. If the Commission shall be notified by the President that he has disapproved the labor provisions of such agreement, the proponents shall be at liberty to request the Commission to consider such trade-practice provisions under its trade practice conference procedure as herein below mentioned or to withdraw the same. . . .

NOTE: The skeleton N.R.A., as extended (see Items 67, 68, 78, 78A and 78B of this volume), was presented with three important problems: first, the liquidation of the staff of the N.R.A. in an orderly manner, in which an effort was made to transfer the staff as far as possible to other Government agencies; second, the review and reconsideration of all that had occurred under N.R.A.; third, the exploration, through its Division of Business Cooperation, of the possibility of achieving the substantial benefits of N.R.A. through voluntary agreements by business men within the limitations of the anti-trust laws. It was contemplated that these voluntary agreements would include

trade-practice provisions as well as labor provisions. It was obvious that such proposed trade-practice provisions would be similar in many ways to those embodied in the trade-practice conferences which the Federal Trade Commission had been conducting for years.

As a result, jurisdiction in regard to these voluntary agreements was divided: The labor provisions were to be reviewed by N.R.A. and the trade-practice provisions were to be reviewed by the Federal Trade Commission. As a matter of fact, however, no such agreements were ever approved; and nothing substantial ever came of this third phase of N.R.A. as extended.

Dedication of Boulder Dam

139 ¶ Address at Dedication of Boulder Dam.
“The National Benefits of This Project Will Be
Felt in Every One of the Forty-eight States.”

September 30, 1935

*Senator Pittman, Secretary Ickes, Governors of the Colorado's States,
and you especially who have built Boulder Dam:*

THIS morning I came, I saw and I was conquered, as everyone would be who sees for the first time this great feat of mankind.

Ten years ago the place where we are gathered was an unpeopled, forbidding desert. In the bottom of a gloomy canyon, whose precipitous walls rose to a height of more than a thousand feet, flowed a turbulent, dangerous river. The mountains on either side of the canyon were difficult of access with neither road nor trail, and their rocks were protected by neither trees nor grass from the blazing heat of the sun. The site of Boulder City was a cactus-covered waste. The transformation wrought here in these years is a twentieth-century marvel.

We are here to celebrate the completion of the greatest dam in the world, rising 726 feet above the bed-rock of the river and altering the geography of a whole region; we are here to see the creation of the largest artificial lake in the world—115 miles long, holding enough water, for example, to cover the State of Connecticut to a depth of ten feet; and we are here to see nearing completion a power house which will contain the largest generators and turbines yet installed in this country, machinery that can continuously supply nearly two million horsepower of electric energy.

All these dimensions are superlative. They represent and embody the accumulated engineering knowledge and experience of centuries; and when we behold them it is fitting that we pay tribute to the genius of their designers. We recognize also the energy, resourcefulness and zeal of the builders, who, under the greatest physical obstacles, have pushed this work forward to

Dedication of Boulder Dam

completion two years in advance of the contract requirements. But especially, we express our gratitude to the thousands of workers who gave brain and brawn to this great work of construction.

Beautiful and great as this structure is, it must also be considered in its relationship to the agricultural and industrial development and in its contribution to the health and comfort of the people of America who live in the Southwest.

To divert and distribute the waters of an arid region, so that there shall be security of rights and efficiency in service, is one of the greatest problems of law and of administration to be found in any Government. The farms, the cities, the people who live along the many thousands of miles of this river and its tributaries—all of them depend upon the conservation, the regulation, and the equitable division of its ever-changing water supply. What has been accomplished on the Colorado in working out such a scheme of distribution is inspiring to the whole country. Through the cooperation of the States whose people depend upon this river, and of the Federal Government which is concerned in the general welfare, there is being constructed a system of distributive works and of laws and practices which will insure to the millions of people who now dwell in this basin, and the millions of others who will come to dwell here in future generations, a just, safe and permanent system of water rights. In devising these policies and the means for putting them into practice the Bureau of Reclamation of the Federal Government has taken, and is destined to take in the future, a leading and helpful part. The Bureau has been the instrument which gave effect to the legislation introduced in Congress by Senator Hiram Johnson and Congressman Phil Swing.

We know that, as an unregulated river, the Colorado added little of value to the region this dam serves. When in flood the river was a threatening torrent. In the dry months of the year it shrank to a trickling stream. For a generation the people of Imperial Valley had lived in the shadow of disaster from this river

Dedication of Boulder Dam

which provided their livelihood, and which is the foundation of their hopes for themselves and their children. Every spring they awaited with dread the coming of a flood, and at the end of nearly every summer they feared a shortage of water would destroy their crops.

The gates of these great diversion tunnels were closed here at Boulder Dam last February. In June a great flood came down the river. It came roaring down the canyons of the Colorado, through Grand Canyon, Iceberg and Boulder Canyons, but it was caught and safely held behind Boulder Dam.

Last year a drought of unprecedented severity was visited upon the West. The watershed of this Colorado River did not escape. In July the canals of the Imperial Valley went dry. Crop losses in that Valley alone totaled \$10,000,000 that summer. Had Boulder Dam been completed one year earlier, this loss would have been prevented, because the spring flood would have been stored to furnish a steady water supply for the long dry summer and fall.

Across the San Jacinto Mountains southwest of Boulder Dam, the cities of Southern California are constructing an aqueduct to cost \$220,000,000, which they have raised, for the purpose of carrying the regulated waters of the Colorado River to the Pacific Coast 259 miles away.

Across the desert and mountains to the west and south run great electric transmission lines by which factory motors, street and household lights and irrigation pumps will be operated in Southern Arizona and California. Part of this power will be used in pumping the water through the aqueduct to supplement the domestic supplies of Los Angeles and surrounding cities.

Navigation of the river from Boulder Dam to the Grand Canyon has been made possible, a 115-mile stretch that has been traversed less than half a dozen times in history. An immense new park has been created for the enjoyment of all our people.

At what cost was this done? Boulder Dam and the power houses together cost a total of \$108,000,000, all of which will be

Dedication of Boulder Dam

repaid with interest in fifty years under the contracts for sale of the power. Under these contracts, already completed, not only will the cost be repaid, but the way is opened for the provision of needed light and power to the consumer at reduced rates. In the expenditure of the price of Boulder Dam during the depression years work was provided for 4,000 men, most of them heads of families, and many thousands more were enabled to earn a livelihood through manufacture of materials and machinery.

And this picture is true on different scales in regard to the thousands of projects undertaken by the Federal Government, by the States and by the counties and municipalities in recent years. The overwhelming majority of them are of definite and permanent usefulness.

Throughout our national history we have had a great program of public improvements, and in these past two years all that we have done has been to accelerate that program. We know, too, that the reason for this speeding up was the need of giving relief to several million men and women whose earning capacity had been destroyed by the complexities and lack of thought of the economic system of the past generation.

No sensible person is foolish enough to draw hard and fast classifications as to usefulness or need. Obviously, for instance, this great Boulder Dam warrants universal approval because it will prevent floods and flood damage, because it will irrigate thousands of acres of tillable land and because it will generate electricity to turn the wheels of many factories and illuminate countless homes. But can we say that a five-foot brushwood dam across the head waters of an arroyo, and costing only a millionth part of Boulder Dam, is an undesirable project or a waste of money? Can we say that the great brick high school, costing \$2,000,000, is a useful expenditure but that a little wooden school house project, costing five or ten thousand dollars, is a wasteful extravagance? Is it fair to approve a huge city boulevard and, at the same time, disapprove the improvement of a muddy farm-to-market road?

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While we do all of this, we give actual work to the unemployed and at the same time we add to the wealth and assets of the Nation. These efforts meet with the approval of the people of the Nation.

In a little over two years this great national work has accomplished much. We have helped mankind by the works themselves and, at the same time, we have created the necessary purchasing power to throw in the clutch to start the wheels of what we call private industry. Such expenditures on all of these works, great and small, flow out to many beneficiaries; they revive other and more remote industries and businesses. Money is put in circulation. Credit is expanded and the financial and industrial mechanism of America is stimulated to more and more activity. Labor makes wealth. The use of materials makes wealth. To employ workers and materials when private employment has failed is to translate into great national possessions the energy that otherwise would be wasted. Boulder Dam is a splendid symbol of that principle. The mighty waters of the Colorado were running unused to the sea. Today we translate them into a great national possession.

I might go further and suggest to you that use begets use. Such works as this serve as a means of making useful other national possessions. Vast deposits of precious metals are scattered within a short distance of where we stand today. They await the development of cheap power.

These great Government power projects will affect not only the development of agriculture and industry and mining in the sections that they serve, but they will also prove useful yardsticks to measure the cost of power throughout the United States. It is my belief that the Government should proceed to lay down the first yardstick from this great power plant in the form of a State power line, assisted in its financing by the Government, and tapping the wonderful natural resources of Southern Nevada. Doubtless the same policy of financial assistance to State authorities can be followed in the development of Nevada's sister State, Arizona, on the other side of the River.

Dedication of Boulder Dam

With it all, with work proceeding in every one of the more than three thousand counties in the United States, and of a vastly greater number of local divisions of Government, the actual credit of Government agencies is on a stronger and safer basis than at any time in the past six years. Many States have actually improved their financial position in the past two years. Municipal tax receipts are being paid when the taxes fall due, and tax arrearages are steadily declining.

It is a simple fact that Government spending is already beginning to show definite signs of its effect on consumer spending; that the putting of people to work by the Government has put other people to work through private employment, and that in two years and a half we have come to the point today where private industry must bear the principal responsibility of keeping the processes of greater employment moving forward with accelerated speed.

The people of the United States are proud of Boulder Dam. With the exception of the few who are narrow visioned, people everywhere on the Atlantic Seaboard, people in the Middle West and the Northwest, people in the South, must surely recognize that the national benefits which will be derived from the completion of this project will make themselves felt in every one of the forty-eight States. They know that poverty or distress in a community two thousand miles away may affect them, and equally that prosperity and higher standards of living across a whole continent will help them back home.

Today marks the official completion and dedication of Boulder Dam, the first of four great Government regional units. This is an engineering victory of the first order—another great achievement of American resourcefulness, American skill and determination.

That is why I have the right once more to congratulate you who have built Boulder Dam and on behalf of the Nation to say to you, "Well done."

Address at Los Angeles, California

140 ¶ Address at Los Angeles, California. "Democracy Is Not a Static Thing; It Is an Everlasting March." October 1, 1935

Mayor Shaw, my friends of Los Angeles:

THANK you from the bottom of my heart for this beautiful and splendid reception.

It is a pleasure indeed to come back to California. To the liberal spirit of this State our National program and progress owe a great debt. No State has a finer record in the great task of putting the strong arm of Government behind the less fortunate members of society. No State has sought more sincerely to improve the lot of every citizen. No State has been more earnest in its desire to foster the ideal of social justice.

Just so long as the least among us remains hungry, or uncared for, or unable to find useful work, just so long must it be the task of all Government, local, State and Federal, to seek reasonable but progressive means to help the unfortunate. The faith of a liberal is profound belief not only in the capacities of individual men and women, but also in the effectiveness of people helping one another. California has many splendid examples of the usefulness of that kind of human cooperation.

As you know, I have not come here today to speak to you formally or even to speak to you about the problems of your national Government. I can tell you truthfully, however, that in crossing the continent, I have been heartened, more than anything else, by the look on people's faces. In these past years I have sought to understand the trials and the great difficulties under which such a large number of our people labor. I have tried to visualize the insecurities that have beset the lives of millions of our families.

It is true, as shown not by the figures alone, but the fine spirit of the great mass of Americans in every part of the land, that we have come through stormy seas into fair weather. A long patience

Address at Los Angeles, California

is receiving its reward. Faith is being justified. Hope is being fulfilled.

It is true that we who are entrusted with the responsibilities of Government have labored toward this end, but the greatest factor in the improvement has been the courage of the American people themselves. Without your help, our labors would have availed far less.

We have taken many steps to protect the family and the individual against many of the natural difficulties of life. We have moved forward to give greater security to the unemployed and to the aged. We have sought sound means to our end.

Years ago President Wilson told me a story. He said that the greatest problem that the head of a progressive democracy had to face was not the criticism of reactionaries or the attacks of those who would set up some other form of Government, but rather to reconcile and unite progressive liberals themselves. The overwhelming majority of liberals all seek the same end, the same ultimate objectives. But because most liberals are able to see beyond the end of their own noses, they are very apt to want to reach their goal by different roads. People who do not want to move forward in the improvement of civilization are perfectly content to stand in one spot, and those people find it easy to remain united in demanding inaction. Liberals, therefore, in order to make their efforts successful, must find common ground and a common road, each making some concession as to form and method in order that all may obtain the substance of what all desire.

This great gathering here today is an inspiration which I shall carry with me. It brings vividly to my mind the splendid pageant in this Coliseum which I had the privilege of seeing in 1932. I have but one thought of regret today. On that occasion I was introduced by a very old friend of mine, a friend of every man, woman and child in the United States, a kindly philosopher—one who would be with us today but for his untimely death in Alaska.

Will Rogers' kindly humor saw facts and laughed at fantasy.

Address at San Diego Exposition

With him, most of us accept the prosaic fact that the way to make progress is to build on what we have, to take from the lessons of yesterday a little more wisdom and courage to meet the tasks of today. Democracy is not a static thing. It is an everlasting march. When our children grow up, they will still have problems to overcome. It is for us, however, manfully to set ourselves to the task of preparation for them, so that to some degree the difficulties they must overcome may weigh upon them less heavily.

I am confident that the people of the Nation, having put their shoulder to the wheel, will build a better future for their children in the days to come.

141 ¶ Address at San Diego Exposition, San Diego, California. "We Can Summon Our Intelligence to Meet Two Most Menacing Clouds of 'Malice Domestic and Fierce Foreign War.'"

October 2, 1935

Governor Merriam, Mayor Benbough, fellow citizens, my friends:

YOU have given me a wonderful party today and I am very grateful.

It is twenty long years since I stood here in company with Vice-President Marshall when the first exposition was held here in San Diego. At that time the flames of a world war were spreading and two years later we ourselves were to take part in that great catastrophe of mankind.

In the days that followed the coming of peace our Nation passed through a difficult period of deflation into a decade of self-deceiving prosperity which we accepted unthinkingly in our desire for quietude, peace and luxury. The inevitable overtook us and during more than three years of increasing hardship we

Address at San Diego Exposition

came to understand the ultimate national need for more than the necessities and pleasures of life; that which is spiritual in us came forward and taught us to seek security of the spirit—that peace of mind, that confidence in the future, that deep contentment which make life not only possible but full and complete.

A great adversity has chastened us; in the process of recovery we have well-nigh unanimous agreement in requiring the elimination of many of those evils in our national life, without which elimination true confidence cannot be made permanent.

I see signs—we all see signs, unmistakable signs, of the restoration of this sound and genuine confidence—a confidence of the masses of the people in the integrity and fairness of their Government, a confidence that integrity and fairness in private enterprises themselves will take the place of many of the evils of the past—in other words, the only confidence on which we can permanently build.

Expositions such as this at San Diego can, and do, well express our hope of the future. Not only is the setting perfect, but the extent and the diversity of the products of American artistic and mechanical genius gathered here speak eloquently of what this Nation can attain on a broad scale.

To a great extent the achievements of invention, of mechanical and of artistic creation, must of necessity, and rightly, be individual rather than governmental. It is the self-reliant pioneer in every enterprise who beats the path along which American civilization has marched. Such individual effort is the glory of America.

The task of Government is that of application and encouragement. A wise Government seeks to provide the opportunity through which the best of individual achievement can be obtained, while at the same time it seeks to remove such obstruction, such unfairness as springs from selfish human motives. Our common life under our various agencies of Government, our laws and our basic Constitution, exist primarily to protect the individual, to cherish his rights and to make clear his just principles.

Address at San Diego Exposition

It is this conception of service to the individual with which the Federal Government has concerned itself these two and a half years just passed. When I took the oath of office there were evidences on all sides that the United States did not then possess a sound and just monetary system. The forces of deflation had finally resulted in the almost complete collapse of our economic activities; the banking system had fallen down; prices of commodities were ruinously low; the burden of debt, individual and collective, was more than the Nation could bear. The farmer, the worker and business man were helpless in the grip of circumstance.

We were confronted at that time by a choice of two ways of meeting the situation. We could let Nature take its course until the process of deflation was complete, and then take a long gamble on building on the ruins. Such a course was driving us to irreparable damage in our national life.

We chose the alternate course. We sought in every sound and legitimate way to raise values, particularly the purchasing power of that agricultural half of the Nation without which the factory wheels of the other half could not turn. We changed a gold standard that had become, not the assurance of a sound economic life, but a strait-jacket which pressed upon and paralyzed the nerve centers of our economic system. Through the extension of sound Government credit we reduced the burden of private debt. We rehabilitated the banking system, and, finally, we financed the outlays necessary for the encouragement of recovery, not through an increase in the burden of taxation upon the average citizen, but by adding to the public debt, frankly and honestly.

As a result of all these efforts bank deposits in active commercial banks have increased by ten billion dollars, or more than 30 percent. At this moment the deposits in the banks of the Nation amount to more than fifty billion dollars, which, I submit, compares favorably with the fifty-five billion dollars in June, 1929. Unlike that year, however, the new system of deposit insurance is covering 98 percent of the fifty million individual depositors

Address at San Diego Exposition

in these insured banks and gives them full protection under the provisions of law.

So, too, the credit policy of the Federal Reserve System in the past two years has sought and accomplished a reduction of interest rates for the purpose of stimulating business recovery. As a result, sound business enterprises can secure money on bonds at a rate of $3\frac{3}{4}$ percent instead of $4\frac{3}{4}$ percent and 5 percent. Government bonds on which you taxpayers formerly paid $3\frac{1}{2}$ percent are now sold with an interest rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent. Through important amendments to our banking laws, we have given practical recognition to the fact that monetary policies are a national public concern and not a regional or a private concern. The Federal Government is in a better position than it ever has been to prevent that disastrous expansion and contraction of credit which in the past has made our economic life a succession of unhealthy booms and disastrous depressions.

In the midst of the greatest and most disastrous of these depressions, the very foundation of individual life was crumbling in the spring of 1933, because of the appalling increase in suffering and in destitution due to the fact of unemployment. Local and State Governments and private charities were, in the large, drained of their resources. With the utmost good-will in the world, they could not meet their primary responsibility. The situation which I faced at that time was too challenging, too mandatory to permit of hesitation. An American Government cannot permit Americans to starve. The task assumed in Federal relief carried us on an uncharted course. Mistakes and errors were inevitable—that we know—but essentially we met the larger responsibilities of the situation. The time demanded action as a substitute for inaction.

In the first emergency action of those days we provided direct relief because a human situation confronted us, but, as rapidly as we could, recognizing that the moral and spiritual fibre of the American people should not be sapped by the narcotic of idleness, we undertook to substitute work for the dole.

Today, after more than two years, the outlook is clearer, and

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even though we have not found final solution for many of the by-products of depression, some old and some new, as they affect unemployment, nevertheless it is not the spirit of America to shrink before a plain necessity. As the burden lifts, the Federal Government can and will greatly divest itself of its emergency responsibility but, at the same time, it cannot ignore the imperfections of the old order.

In the same broad field a changing civilization has raised new problems with respect to the relationship between the employer and the employed. It is now beyond partisan controversy that it is a fundamental individual right of a worker to associate himself with other workers and to bargain collectively with his employer. New laws, in themselves, do not bring a millennium; new laws do not pretend to prevent labor disputes, nor do they cover all industry and all labor. But they do constitute an important step toward the achievement of just and peaceable labor relations in industry. This right of the Federal Government is well established. Every President of the United States in this generation has been faced by the fact that when labor relations are strained to the breaking point there remains but one high court of conciliation — the Government of the United States.

In like manner we have sought to foster human cooperation within industry itself. Through the institution of codes within industries we sought to establish a rule of constitutional government within industry in substitution for the old rule of tooth and claw. The experience thus gained by business in cooperative methods marks a permanent advance. I have talked with hundreds of business men from every part of the land, and an overwhelming proportion of them tell me frankly that unless they can unite for the elimination of unfair and destructive practices, naught but chaos and insecurity can be expected. These principles, so widely accepted under the National Industrial Recovery Act, still live, and means for their application, I trust, can be found.

Once more we stand upon an economic plateau. We have,

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therefore, a right to look forward to the brighter future while, at the same time, we remember the mistakes of the past.

Simple facts speak so eloquently that explanation is unnecessary. From March, 1933, through June, 1935, the following gains have been recorded in the industrial and business life of America. Industrial production, as a whole, increased 45 percent; factory employment 35 percent; rural general store sales 104 percent; life insurance written 41 percent; automobile sales 157 percent; electrical power production 18 percent—which, incidentally, brings it to a higher point than in any previous time in our history.

Several centuries ago the greatest writer in history described the two most menacing clouds that hang over human government and human society as “malice domestic and fierce foreign war.” We are not rid of these dangers but we can summon our intelligence to meet them.

Never was there more genuine reason for Americans to face down these two causes of fear. “Malice domestic” from time to time will come to you in the shape of those who would raise false issues, pervert facts, preach the gospel of hate, and minimize the importance of public action to secure human rights or spiritual ideals. There are those today who would sow these seeds, but your answer to them is in the possession of the plain facts of our present condition.

The second cloud — “foreign war” — is more real — a more potent danger at this moment to the future of civilization. It is not surprising that many of our citizens feel a deep sense of apprehension lest some of the Nations of the world repeat the folly of twenty years ago and drag civilization to a level from which world-wide recovery may be all but impossible.

In the face of this apprehension the American people can have but one concern — the American people can speak but one sentiment: despite what happens in continents overseas, the United States of America shall and must remain, as long ago the Father of our Country prayed that it might remain — unentangled and free.

Address at San Diego Exposition

This country seeks no conquest. We have no imperial designs. From day to day and year to year, we are establishing a more perfect assurance of peace with our neighbors. We rejoice especially in the prosperity, the stability and the independence of all of the American Republics. We not only earnestly desire peace, but we are moved by a stern determination to avoid those perils that will endanger our peace with the world.

Our national determination to keep free of foreign wars and foreign entanglements cannot prevent us from feeling deep concern when ideals and principles that we have cherished are challenged. In the United States we regard it as axiomatic that every person shall enjoy the free exercise of his religion according to the dictates of his conscience. Our flag for a century and a half has been the symbol of the principles of liberty of conscience, of religious freedom and of equality before the law; and these concepts are deeply ingrained in our national character.

It is true that other Nations may, as they do, enforce contrary rules of conscience and conduct. It is true that policies may be pursued under flags other than our own, but those policies are beyond our jurisdiction. Yet in our inner individual lives we can never be indifferent, and we assert for ourselves complete freedom to embrace, to profess and to observe the principles for which our flag has so long been the lofty symbol. As it was so well said by James Madison, over a century ago: "We hold it for a fundamental and inalienable truth that religion and the manner of discharging it can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence."

As President of the United States I say to you most earnestly once more that the people of America and the Government of those people intend and expect to remain at peace with all the world. In the two years and a half of my Presidency, this Government has remained constant in following this policy of our own choice. At home we have preached, and will continue to preach, the gospel of the good neighbor. I hope from the bottom of my heart that as the years go on, in every continent and in every clime, Nation will follow Nation in proving by deed as well as

Congratulations to the Fleet

by word their adherence to the ideal of the Americas—I am a good neighbor.

142 ¶ Congratulations to the Fleet and the Secretary of the Navy after Naval Review. October 3, 1935

I EXTEND to you and to the officers and men of the Fleet my congratulations on the excellently executed tactical exercises today. I was especially interested in several phases of the exercises which I had never seen previously and in the timing and precision of attacks. I wish I could stay with the Fleet longer.

Roosevelt, Commander-in-Chief.

WE HAVE seen today the extremely interesting tactical exercises of the Fleet. Admiral Reeves accompanied me on *U.S.S. Houston* and has just returned to his ship. We are headed south. Wish you could be with us. Warm regards.

Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Secretary of Navy,
Washington, D. C.

(These exercises were during my cruise on the *U.S.S. Houston*. See note to Item 135, this volume.)

143 ¶ The President Prohibits the Export of Arms, Ammunition and Implements of War to Ethiopia and Italy. Proclamation No. 2141. October 5, 1935

WHEREAS Section 1 of a Joint Resolution of Congress, entitled "Joint Resolution Providing for the prohibition of the export of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to belligerent countries; the prohibition of the transportation of arms, ammunition,

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and implements of war by vessels of the United States for the use of belligerent States; for the registration and licensing of persons engaged in the business of manufacturing, exporting, or importing arms, ammunition, or implements of war; and restricting travel by American citizens on belligerent ships during war," approved August 31, 1935, provides in part as follows:

"That upon the outbreak or during the progress of war between, or among, two or more foreign states, the President shall proclaim such fact, and it shall thereafter be unlawful to export arms, ammunition, or implements of war from any place in the United States, or possessions of the United States, to any port of such belligerent States, or to any neutral port for transshipment to, or for the use of, a belligerent country."

AND WHEREAS it is further provided by Section 1 of the said Joint Resolution that—

"The President, by proclamation, shall definitely enumerate the arms, ammunition, or implements of war, the export of which is prohibited by this Act."

AND WHEREAS it is further provided by Section 1 of the said Joint Resolution that—

"Whoever, in violation of any of the provisions of this section, shall export, or attempt to export, or cause to be exported, arms, ammunition, or implements of war from the United States, or any of its possessions, shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both, and the property, vessel, or vehicle containing the same shall be subject to the provisions of Sections 1 to 8, inclusive, Title 6, Chapter 30, of the Act approved June 15, 1917 (40 Stat. 223-225; U. S. C., Title 22, Secs. 238-245)."

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority conferred on me by the said Joint Resolution of Congress, do hereby proclaim that a state of war unhappily exists between Ethiopia and the Kingdom of Italy; and I do hereby admonish all citizens of the United States or any of its possessions and all persons residing or being within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States or its possessions to abstain from every violation of the provisions of the Joint Resolution above set forth,

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hereby made effective and applicable to the export of arms, ammunition, or implements of war from any place in the United States or its possessions to Ethiopia or to the Kingdom of Italy, or to any Italian possession, or to any neutral port for transshipment to, or for the use of, Ethiopia or the Kingdom of Italy.

And I do hereby declare and proclaim that the articles listed below shall be considered arms, ammunition, and implements of war for the purposes of Section 1 of the said Joint Resolution of Congress:

CATEGORY I

- (1) Rifles and carbines using ammunition in excess of cal. 26.5, and their barrels;
- (2) Machine guns, automatic rifles, and machine pistols of all calibers, and their barrels;
- (3) Guns, howitzers, and mortars of all calibers, their mountings and barrels;
- (4) Ammunition for the arms enumerated under (1) and (2) above, i.e., high-power steel-jacketed ammunition in excess of cal. 26.5; filled and unfilled projectiles and propellants with a web thickness of .015 inch or greater for the projectiles of the arms enumerated under (3) above;
- (5) Grenades, bombs, torpedoes, and mines, filled or unfilled, and apparatus for their use or discharge;
- (6) Tanks, military armored vehicles, and armored trains.

CATEGORY II

Vessels of war of all kinds, including aircraft carriers and submarines.

CATEGORY III

- (1) Aircraft, assembled or dismantled, both heavier and lighter than air, which are designed, adapted, and intended for aerial combat by the use of machine guns or of artillery or for the carrying and dropping of bombs or which are equipped with, or which

Arms to Ethiopia and Italy

by reason of design or construction are prepared for, any of the appliances referred to in paragraph (2) below;

(2) Aerial gun mounts and frames, bomb racks, torpedo carriers, and bomb or torpedo release mechanisms.

CATEGORY IV

Revolvers and automatic pistols of a weight in excess of 1 pound 6 ounces (630 grams), using ammunition in excess of cal. 26.5, and ammunition therefor.

CATEGORY V

(1) Aircraft, assembled or dismantled, both heavier and lighter than air, other than those included in Category III;

(2) Propellers or air screws, fuselages, hulls, tail units, and under-carriage units;

(3) Aircraft engines.

CATEGORY VI

(1) Livens projectors and flame throwers;

(2) Mustard gas, lewisite, ethyldichlorarsine, and methyldichlorarsine.

And I do hereby enjoin upon all officers of the United States, charged with the execution of the laws thereof, the utmost diligence in preventing violations of the said Joint Resolution, and this my proclamation issued thereunder, and in bringing to trial and punishment any offenders against the same.

And I do hereby delegate to the Secretary of State the power of prescribing regulations for the enforcement of Section 1 of the said joint resolution of August 31, 1935, as made effective by this my proclamation issued thereunder.

NOTE: The two Proclamations, Nos. 2141 and 2142, were issued in accordance with the provisions of Joint Resolution No. 173, signed by me August 31, 1935, 49 Stat. No. 1081 (see Item 117, this

volume). They declared that a state of war existed between Ethiopia and Italy, that the export of arms to these countries was thereafter prohibited, and that American citizens who traveled on the vessels of

Travel on Vessels of Belligerent Nations

these Nations, did so at their own risk.

As I said in my statement approving the Joint Resolution August 31, 1935 (see Item 117, this volume), the resolution did not deal adequately with all phases of the neutrality problem. I, therefore, did not limit our neutrality efforts to the actions prescribed by the resolution.

On the same day on which I issued these Proclamations, I also issued a statement to the country, declaring, "In these specific circumstances, I desire it to be understood that any of our people who volun-

tarily engage in transactions of any character with either of the belligerents do so at their own risk."

Although the Secretary of State on October 10, 1935, emphasized and amplified this statement, it soon became apparent that these declarations of the Administration's policy were not sufficient to discourage some private persons and firms from taking advantage of the tempting trade opportunities in war materials.

I issued a further statement on October 30, 1935, printed as Item 156, this volume.

144 ¶ The President Warns American Citizens against Travel on Vessels of Belligerent Nations during Italian-Ethiopian War. Proclamation No. 2142. October 5, 1935

WHEREAS Section 6 of the Joint Resolution of Congress, approved August 31, 1935 (Public Resolution No. 67, 74th Congress), provides that —

"Whenever, during any war in which the United States is neutral, the President shall find that the maintenance of peace between the United States and foreign Nations, or the protection of the lives of citizens of the United States, or the protection of the commercial interests of the United States and its citizens, or the security of the United States requires that the American citizens should refrain from traveling as passengers on the vessels of any belligerent Nation, he shall so proclaim, and thereafter no citizen of the United States shall travel on any vessel of any belligerent Nation except at his own risk, unless in accordance with such rules and regulations as the President shall prescribe: *Provided, however,* That the provisions of this section shall not apply to a citizen traveling on the vessel of a belligerent whose voyage was begun in advance of the date of the

Travel on Vessels of Belligerent Nations

President's proclamation, and who had no opportunity to discontinue his voyage after that date: *And provided further*, That they shall not apply under ninety days after the date of the President's proclamation to a citizen returning from a foreign country to the United States or to any of its possessions. When, in the President's judgment, the conditions which have caused him to issue his proclamation have ceased to exist, he shall revoke his proclamation and the provisions of this section shall thereupon cease to apply."

AND WHEREAS war now unhappily exists between Ethiopia and the Kingdom of Italy; and

WHEREAS I find that the protection of the lives of citizens of the United States requires that American citizens should refrain from traveling as passengers on the vessels of either of the belligerent Nations;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the said Joint Resolution of Congress, do hereby admonish all citizens of the United States to abstain from traveling on any vessel of either of the belligerent nations contrary to the provisions of the said Joint Resolution; and

I do hereby give notice that any citizen of the United States who may travel on such a vessel, contrary to the provisions of the said Joint Resolution, will do so at his own risk.

145 ¶ Presidential Statement on the Foregoing Proclamations. October 5, 1935

IN VIEW of the situation which has unhappily developed between Ethiopia and Italy, it has become my duty under the provisions of the Joint Resolution of Congress approved August 31, 1935, to issue, and I am today issuing, my Proclamation making effective an embargo on the exportation from this country to Ethiopia and Italy of arms, ammunition and implements of war. Notwithstanding the hope we entertained that war would be avoided, and the exertion of our influence in that direction, we are now compelled to recognize the simple and indisputable fact

The First English Bible

that Ethiopian and Italian armed forces are engaged in combat, thus creating a state of war within the intent and meaning of the Joint Resolution.

In these specific circumstances I desire it to be understood that any of our people who voluntarily engage in transactions of any character with either of the belligerents do so at their own risk.

146 ¶ The President Hails the Four Hundredth Anniversary of the Printing of the First English Bible. October 6, 1935

THE four hundredth anniversary of the printing of the first English Bible is an event of great significance. It challenges the reverent attention of English-speaking peoples the world over. To that day, October 4, 1535, when Myles Coverdale, an Augustinian Friar, later the Bishop of Exeter, produced this Book in the common vernacular, we trace not only a measurable increase in the cultural value and influence of this greatest of books, but a quickening in the widespread dissemination of those moral and spiritual precepts that have so greatly affected the progress of Christian civilization. The part that William Tyndale played in this English translation is generally acknowledged by the historian. It is also evident that there were others who made valuable contributions to the monumental undertaking. Independent of and apart from the devotion of these zealous translators, the work they did marks the beginning of one of the great epochs in the history of English-speaking peoples.

It would be difficult to appraise the far-reaching influence of this work and subsequent translations upon the speech, literature, moral and religious character of our people and their institutions. It has done much to refine and enrich our language. To it may be traced the richest and best we have in our literature. Poetry, prose, painting, music and oratory have had in it their guide and inspiration. In it Lincoln found the rounded euphoni-

The First English Bible

ous phrases for his Gettysburg address. Speaking of its place in his life, he says: "In regard to the great Book, I have only to say, it is the best gift which God has ever given to man."

One cannot study the story of the rise and development of the men and women who have been and continue to be the pathfinders and benefactors of our people and not recognize the outstanding place the Bible has occupied as the guide and inspiration of their thought and practice. Apart from their professed allegiance to any particular form of Christian doctrine or creedal expression of faith, they have found in it that which has shaped their course and determined their action. Look where we will, even in periods that have been marked by apostasy and doubt, still men have found here in these sacred pages that which has refreshed and encouraged them as they prosecuted their pilgrimage and sought for higher levels of thinking and living.

In the formative days of the Republic the directing influence the Bible exercised upon the fathers of the Nation is conspicuously evident. To Washington it contained the sure and certain moral precepts that constituted the basis of his action. That which proceeded from it transcended all other books, however elevating their thought. To his astute mind moral and religious principles were the "indispensable supports" of political prosperity, the "essential pillars of civil society." Learned as Jefferson was in the best of the ancient philosophers, he turned to the Bible as the source of his higher thinking and reasoning. Speaking of the lofty teachings of the Master, he said: "He pushed His scrutinies into the heart of man; erected His tribunal in the region of his thoughts, and purified the waters at the fountain head." Beyond this he held that the Bible contained the noblest ethical system the world has known. His own compilation of the selected portions of this Book, in what is known as "Jefferson's Bible," bears evidence of the profound reverence in which he held it.

Entirely apart from these citations of the place the Bible has occupied in the thought and philosophy of the good and the great, it is the veneration in which it has been and is held by vast

The Dedication of Stratford

numbers of our people that gives it its supreme place in our literature. No matter what the accidents and chances of life may bring in their train, no matter what the changing habits and fashions of the world may effect, this Book continues to hold its unchallenged place as the most loved, the most quoted and the most universally read and pondered of all the volumes which our libraries contain. It has withstood assaults, it has resisted and survived the most searching microscopic examination, it has stood every test that could be applied to it and yet it continues to hold its supreme place as the Book of books. There have been periods when it has suffered stern and searching criticism, but the hottest flame has not destroyed its prevailing and persistent power. We cannot read the history of our rise and development as a Nation, without reckoning with the place the Bible has occupied in shaping the advances of the Republic. Its teaching, as has been wisely suggested, is ploughed into the very heart of the race. Where we have been truest and most consistent in obeying its precepts we have attained the greatest measure of contentment and prosperity; where it has been to us as the words of a book that is sealed, we have faltered in our way, lost our range-finders and found our progress checked. It is well that we observe this anniversary of the first publishing of our English Bible. The time is propitious to place a fresh emphasis upon its place and worth in the economy of our life as a people. As literature, as a book that contains a system of ethics, of moral and religious principles, it stands unique and alone. I commend its thoughtful and reverent reading to all our people. Its refining and elevating influence is indispensable to our most cherished hopes and ideals.

147 ¶ A Greeting from the President on the Occasion of the Dedication of Stratford.

October 12, 1935

I ALWAYS think of myself as a rediscoverer of Stratford. Probably there were many others who, like myself, stumbled upon the

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Stratford of twenty years ago. I knew of its existence, of course, but not its precise location. When, therefore, a party of us who were serving in the Wilson Administration landed from the small Presidential Yacht *Sylph* at an apparently uninhabited section of the lower Potomac and Stratford appeared before us as we strolled inland, we felt the thrill of a Balboa upon a peak of Darien. The amazing dignity of the great house, of the out-buildings and barns, transcended the want of repair and the lack of accessibility. Many times after that, I returned to visit Dr. Stewart and to wander with him through the rooms and then up to the roof to see if aught remained of the original glimpse of the Potomac.

It is right and fitting that Stratford is being made once more a shrine to which the lovers of the history of our land can come from every part of the Nation. It is a shrine dedicated to a great American family and especially to the memory of that very great gentleman, Robert E. Lee. It is equally a permanent memorial to a brave, young civilization for which modern America will always be grateful.

NOTE: Stratford, on the Virginia family. Fortunately, its preservation bank of the lower Potomac River, has been successfully undertaken was the home of the famous Lee by an association of ladies.

148 ¶ A Message to the Fifth Annual Women's Conference on Current Problems.

October 17, 1935

THE meetings which you are holding are an excellent reminder of the very important fact that education in its broader sense begins only after formal school education is finished. Henry Adams, a great American, suggests, in the title of his autobiography, that a man's education is a continuing thing throughout his life. Especially is this true of education in public affairs, to which you so wisely turn your attention.

Women's Conference on Current Problems

There was never a time in the history of this country when an examination of the fundamental principles on the basis of which our public affairs are conducted was more important. Great and significant questions face us on all sides. We do well to take counsel with respect to these by a fair public presentation of varying points of view.

This is particularly true with respect to the women of America. Their interest in these great questions is rooted deep in the conditions of their own lives. When our economic system fails to sustain an adequate standard of life, it is the women who face the most poignant privation. A falling standard in the incomes of average Americans, the dragging of innocent children from homes into factories, the problems of delinquency that arise from social conditions, the destruction of workers' morale by unemployment, the effects of poverty and dependency in old age, widespread preventable diseases, unnecessary industrial warfare, and, most of all, that failure of reason which permits and wages modern war—all of these challenging factors in modern society throw upon the women of the Nation a material and spiritual burden of the greatest significance. That is why the women of America, as their responsibilities of citizenship have greatly expanded, are turning with intense earnestness to measures which are aimed at eliminating or alleviating the effects of these imperfections of our society. They recognize, as all reasonable people must recognize, that government was not instituted to serve merely as a cold public instrument to be called into use after irreparable damage has been done. If we limit government to the functions of merely punishing the criminal after crimes have been committed, of gathering up the wreckage of society after the devastation of an economic collapse, or of fighting a war that reason might have prevented, then government fails to satisfy those urgent human purposes, which, in essence, gave it its beginning and provide its present justification.

Modern government has become an instrument through which citizens may apply their reasoned methods of prevention in addition to methods of correction. Government has become one of

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the most important instruments for the prevention and cure of these evils of society which I have mentioned. Its concern at the moment is unabated. It conceives of itself as an instrument through which social justice may prevail more greatly among men. In the determination of the standards that make up social justice, the widest discussion is necessary. In the last analysis, government can be no more than the collective wisdom of its citizens. The duty of citizens is to increase this collective wisdom by common counsel, by the discovery and consideration of facts relating to the common life, and by the discouragement of those who for selfish ends or through careless speech distort facts and disseminate untruth.

In facing the problems involved in a world in which international discord still stalks abroad, the vivid interests of women in the preservation of safe peace should be enlisted. Constant vigilance is necessary in a Nation like ours, to see that forces that make for discord are discovered and discouraged. I have pledged myself to do my part in keeping America free of those entanglements that move us along the road to war. I want to feel at all times that I have the sustaining influence of a healthy, sound, and, above all, thoroughly American public opinion on the subject. My task and the task of all those others who are associated with me in the official life of the country can be made easier if the citizenship of the Nation and particularly the women citizens of the Nation seek the truth and a wise application of the truth.

I had hoped to be able to speak to you in person by radio but my flagship is in the Pacific Ocean south of the Panama Canal and the problems of adequate transmission make this impossible. Therefore I can but extend you my greetings and my regrets that I am unable personally to participate in the valuable discussions of your most excellent meeting.

149 ¶ Informal Extemporaneous Remarks at the Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

October 23, 1935

Governor Johnston, Mr. Mayor, my friends of Charleston and of South Carolina:

You have given me a very wonderful welcome home to the continental limits of the United States. It is a very happy ending to a very happy vacation.

I am glad to come back here after many years, for, as some of you will remember, in the old days when I was associated with the United States Navy under the Administration of that great American President, Woodrow Wilson, I had the opportunity of coming here on several occasions and of helping to build up, to some degree at least, this splendid Navy Yard in Charleston.

When I heard that I was to speak at the Citadel, old memories came back to me, memories not only of my own visit to the old school, but also of the great historic tradition of that school—an historical record, a war record, if you please, of the Citadel boys that ought to be known to every boy in the United States. Then when I learned that the Citadel had moved, somehow I got a little choky over it, wondering what it would be like; and yet here I come and I find the old Citadel reproduced. It is reproduced, I am confident, for generations to come, for the continuance of this splendid institution. I am happy indeed that you have moved it here to these very fitting surroundings, and that the Citadel is under the command of my old friend General Summerall. . . .

We have had a very happy three weeks; and I am glad, in coming back here to the Southern Atlantic Coast, to find a very definite evidence of what I found in my trip across the continent, starting from Washington and going out through the Middle West, out into the Great Plains country, through the Rocky Mountain States and finally to the Pacific Coast. There was not

Remarks at the Citadel

one dissenting word—there was general admission that this country was coming back. You could see it with your own eyes.

Today, on landing, I am told the same story about South Carolina. Yes, we are on our way back—not just by pure chance, my friends, not just by a turn of the wheel, of the cycle. We are coming back more soundly than ever before because we are planning it that way. Don't let anybody tell you differently.

There are many grave problems ahead. As you know, I spoke in San Diego, in California, three weeks ago today. I spoke in regard to the affairs of the world and I tried to make it clear then, as I continue to make it clear today, that it shall be my earnest effort to keep this country free and unentangled from any possible war that may occur across the seas.

I have come back very much sunburned, full of health and ready to tackle a great many things. I wish I could stay with you longer, but I have to be back in Washington tomorrow. I shall always bear with me a very happy recollection of this coming back home, back into our country, and a very happy recollection of all the kind things you have said and you have done, of your coming out to greet me, of my opportunity once more to see this historic city, to see those delightful and splendid old homes—homes that belong not just to you who are fortunate to live in Charleston, but homes and churches and public buildings that belong to all of us Americans, all of us who care for the great traditions of the United States.

I hope you will always keep those homes, keep them for yourselves and for your fellow countrymen, as you would keep the splendid traditions of Charleston and the splendid traditions of South Carolina. I know that more and more people all over the United States are going to come to visit you, just as your welcome today makes me want to come back every possible chance that I may get.

NOTE: This was the end of my *U.S.S. Houston*. See note to Item trip across the continent and back 135, this volume.
through the Panama Canal on the

150 ¶ “The Kind of Assistance Private Charity, and Not Government, Should Give.” Radio Address on Behalf of the 1935 Mobilization for Human Needs. October 24, 1935

IT is a high privilege once more to appeal to the men, women and children of America for support of another year's Mobilization for Human Needs. I can properly congratulate and thank the country for their splendid response to the appeal for the care of the needy in the years of deep depression from which we are happily and rapidly emerging.

Since I spoke to you at this time last year, in behalf of this great national undertaking, much good has been accomplished, both through private charity of all kinds and through generous assistance by Federal, State and local Government authorities.

During the past year the Congress and the Administration have been making provisions for the employment of approximately three and a half million unemployed persons in bona fide jobs, and the coming month will see the great majority of these people at work in the several States.

The Congress has also enacted, and I have signed, the great Social Security Act which establishes for the future the framework for unemployment insurance, for old-age assistance and for aid to dependent children. The full force and effect of the Social Security law cannot, of course, become operative until several years have elapsed, nor will this law in any sense replace the proper and legitimate fields now covered by private contributions to private charities.

I can, however, bring you good news this evening. The results of the September employment survey have just come to me from the Secretary of Labor. During the month of September, 350,000 men and women were returned to private employment in the reporting industries of the Nation, and the money in the weekly pay envelopes of these industries was \$12,000,000 greater than

The 1935 Mobilization for Human Needs

their weekly pay envelopes in the previous month of August. This means that the workers in these reporting industries had \$12,000,000 more each week to spend for the necessities of life. Furthermore, these latest and continued gains mean that nearly 5,000,000 men and women have found employment in the reporting private industries since the low point of the depression in March, 1933, and during this same period there has been an increase of over \$104,000,000 per week in the payrolls of these industries.

The September gain is the largest for any single month in the past year and a half. It brings back employment in these industries to the level of November, 1930, and it brings the payrolls back to the level of May, 1931.

Recently I expressed the hope that private industry would strain every nerve to increase their payrolls, increase the number of those whom they employed, and thus take from the Federal Government and their local governments a great share of the burden of relief. The figures which I have cited lead me to a greater confidence that private industry is living up to my hope. We seem to be taking up the slack.

Even those industries which were long backward in showing signs of recovery are putting their best foot forward. The so-called heavy industries, for example, show encouraging signs of improvement. Employment in this so-called durable goods group is now 62 percent higher than it was in the spring of 1933; their weekly payrolls are 139 percent greater; and this represents a net increase in employment of 1,185,000 men and women, and a rise of over \$40,000,000 in weekly payrolls.

I cite all of these figures because they relate to that kind of employment for which the Government has definite statistics. They do not apply to the many other forms of employment of which there is no adequate record. The small retail businesses and the farms of the Nation are not included in the totals of employment and of weekly wages which I have cited, but in their case also it is common knowledge that many thousands of additional men and women have been provided with work.

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In direct proportion as the Nation as a whole more greatly receives, so is the Nation in a position more greatly to give.

Why, you may ask, if the distress and the unemployment are less, should the giving be greater. The answer is twofold: first of all, it is, I know, your hope and mine that the necessities of Government relief furnished by funds received by taxation should decrease as rapidly as human needs will allow.

But the other reason is of deeper significance, of greater importance. There are, as you and I know, hundreds of thousands of men, women and children who require the kind of assistance which private charity and not Government should give. There still remains, and will long remain, a sadly distressed segment of our population, destitute and unprovided for, in the communities of the United States. These are the ones whose plight you, as a good neighbor, go out this week to call to the attention of their more fortunate fellows. It is with them that our private, social agencies are primarily concerned. We know that medical care still needs to be extended to thousands who have not the means to pay for it. We know that great numbers of children still suffer from malnutrition. We know that families separated by economic circumstance must be reunited and given opportunities to move forward. We know that the hospitals, clinics and day nurseries need and deserve our help; that homes for the aged, for the blind, for the incurable, must carry on their splendid work; that the agencies that build and help the youth of our community must and should expand their splendid work.

But we do want to emphasize that word "work." Neither private charity nor Government relief wants to continue to help people who can but will not work. There is only one legitimate excuse for unwillingness to work and that is bad health or advanced age.

It is the duty of private charity and of State and local government agencies to take care of those who for these sound reasons are unable to work, and, as I have so often said, it is the duty of the Federal Government to assist in this type of relief only when private and local means come to the end of their tether.

To the Master Farmers Group

The slogan of the 1935 Mobilization for Human Needs is "Be a Good Neighbor," and the practical way of being a good neighbor in this year of grace is for each and every one of us to support the splendid private agencies whose work has been so successful in the past. If each and every one of us answers — by practical giving — the sound appeal made for the continuance and growth of local welfare, we shall become the best possible neighbors in our own neighborhoods.

(For other addresses on behalf of the Mobilization for Human Needs in other years see Item 123, Vol. II; Item 162, Vol. III; Item 127, Vol. V. On Sept. 23, 1935, I made another informal speech at a meeting of this organization, which has not been included in these volumes.)

151 ¶ Informal Extemporaneous Remarks to the Master Farmers Group at the White House. October 25, 1935

IT is grand to see you all. I recall way back in 1928, when I was Governor of the State of New York, making the first awards to Master Farmers. Since then I have attended several of the Master Farmers' banquets, both in New York City and at Cornell University.

The Master Farmers' movement is well worth while. Down here I come in contact with it in other States of the Union; and while we in New York have been perhaps more successful in this movement than in any other State, the idea has taken hold practically all over the United States. Even down in Georgia where a Dutchess County farmer tries to raise a little cotton, we have Master Farmers.

We are making, I think, some real progress. Certainly, conditions in general are better than they were, although we still have, of course, a good way to go.

One interesting thing to me is that the country as a whole is becoming more and more understanding of our general farm problems. It has come to realize that the industrial people in the

To the Master Farmers Group

cities cannot be prosperous unless the farm people of the United States have purchasing power. That is one of the things we have been trying for the last two or three years to get people to understand in cities all over the United States.

One of our problems is to increase the purchasing power of many sections of the country where the purchasing power was extremely low in the old days. We people who come from up-state New York perhaps have very little real realization of what farming means in the agricultural States of the South—that is, the conditions of farm life down there. But the farm population of the South is beginning to better their conditions, to bring them up more approximately to our conditions in the North, which, even today, are infinitely better than they are in the South.

There is another thing we are trying to get away from, in part by experimentation, because we can't always hit it right the first time. We are trying to get away from the tremendous fluctuations in crop values that the country has gone through over the last one hundred and fifty years. I always use an example: If a piece of real estate or a farm or a piece of city property were to fluctuate in value 50 percent one way or 50 percent another way, we regard that as a very extreme fluctuation. If the clothes that we wear were to fluctuate in price 50 percent up or 50 percent down, we would think that was a pretty serious thing. Yet nobody has ever really given much thought to the fact that farm prices do not hesitate to fluctuate 300 percent and 400 percent and 500 percent in a very short period of time. On the basic crops in this country from 1921 to 1933, the price of, let us say, cotton fluctuated from 28 cents a pound down to 4½ cents a pound to the farmer. The price of wheat fluctuated from between \$1.30 and \$1.40 down to as low as 25 cents or 30 cents a bushel on the farm. Well, 30 cents up to \$1.20 is a fluctuation of 400 percent. And so it goes.

That is true of dairy products; and it is true with respect to almost everything that the farm population has produced in our past history. What we are seeking are greater uniformity of price

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and the avoidance of some of these terrific fluctuations that have made the farm business in this country such a very highly speculative business. The more we can stabilize that business the better it is for the half of the United States which is either directly engaged in agriculture or directly dependent on agriculture.

That is one reason why I am so tremendously keen about the Master Farmers' Organization. You, as Master Farmers, can explain these things; and, because you are Master Farmers, you will be listened to far more readily than a mere politician like me, or professors of economics like Ed (Eastman), for instance. Are you a professor of economics?

MR. EASTMAN: No, sir, I am not.

THE PRESIDENT: Then, like temporary bankers, like Henry Morgenthau, for, I suppose while he is running the Treasury of the United States he might be called a temporary banker.

It is fine to see you all. These grounds, I think they call them the South Grounds of the White House, are open to you and I hope you will go through them and have a very, very good time. I wish I could go out with you myself but I have two or three appointments before I start on the day's mail.

These South Grounds—that is their official name, but we call them the back yard—cover about fourteen or fifteen acres, and they are in substantially the same condition today as they were back in the Civil War days. Before Lincoln's time, the back yard of the White House was not even fenced in except for a rough, wooden fence. Andrew Jackson used to keep his cows and sheep on the lawn.

This winter, when we were doing over the White House kitchens which needed to be brought up to modern standards, we excavated under the front porch of the White House and in doing that we went through a brick wall, and there we found two stone horse-stalls that were put there during the Administration of Andrew Jackson, just a little over a hundred years ago. There was a big stone watering trough with the date and the initials "A. J." That is going to be preserved and taken over to the National Museum as a historic memento of An-

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drew Jackson. So you see in the old days, the White House was not only a White House but also a farm. I wish it could continue to be a farm today.

152 ¶ Presidential Statement on the Transition from an Emergency to a More Permanent Plan for American Agriculture. October 25, 1935

IN MAY, 1933, Congress enacted the Agricultural Adjustment Act, which was designed to relieve the distress then prevalent among farmers. Since that time several million producers have joined whole-heartedly with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in far-reaching adjustment programs.

I wish to pay tribute to the courage and perseverance with which these farmers, using the facilities made available by Congress, have fought their way out of the acute depression which engulfed them in 1932. They have been patient in the face of delay, tolerant of a host of irritations and undeterred by opposition because they knew they could never win except through cooperation on a national scale. The first opportunity farmers ever had to work together on such a scale was afforded by the Adjustment Act.

The achievements of the A.A.A. for agriculture are apparent to millions of farmers. The improved demand for city-made goods resulting from increasing farm buying power is reflected in better business in towns and industrial centers everywhere. The Adjustment Act has served the national welfare.

There are people in this country who can see no room for further progress in agricultural adjustment. Of these, some would be content to continue the adjustment programs exactly as they are. There are even a few supporters of the A.A.A. so well satisfied with what has been done that they would like to call the job complete and finished.

But it never was the idea of the men who framed the Act,

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of those in Congress who revised it, or of Henry Wallace or Chester Davis that the Agricultural Adjustment Administration should be either a mere emergency operation or a static agency.

It was their intention — as it is mine — to pass from the purely emergency phases necessitated by a grave national crisis to a long-time, more permanent plan for American agriculture.

Such a long-time program is developing naturally out of the present adjustment efforts. As I see it, this program has two principal objectives:

First, to carry out the declared policy of Congress to maintain and increase the gains thus far made, thereby avoiding the danger of a slump back into the conditions brought about by our national neglect of agriculture.

Second, to broaden present adjustment operations so as to give farmers increasing incentives for conservation and efficient use of the Nation's soil resources.

Simplification of present programs, with a view to increased flexibility, would readily lend itself to the broad objectives outlined. Decentralization of machinery to get more efficient administration closer to the farmers already has begun, and will be vigorously continued. To simplify administration, the A.A.A. will work toward the objective of one contract per farm. The modifications planned, in addition to making administration easier, will facilitate production adjustment either upward or downward.

The time may come when the A.A.A. will prove as important in stimulating certain kinds of production as it has been in removing recent burdensome surpluses. For example, an expanded production of hogs, to replace shortages caused by drought, is contemplated under the proposed new corn-hog program, which is put up to a decision of producers in a nationwide referendum tomorrow.

Present and future production of supplies of food and fibre ample for this country's needs and for available export markets is a sound objective. However, there was nothing sound in the

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situation in the past when, spurred by ruinously low prices, farmers have been compelled to mine their soil of its fertility by over-intensive cultivation in a race to make up in volume of units what they had lost in unit price. This has resulted in waste on a colossal scale. Dust storms and mud-laden streams have been symbols of this exploitation.

Tens of millions of acres have been abandoned because of erosion. This jeopardizes both consumer and producer. Real damage to the consumer does not result from moderate increases in food prices, but from collapse of farm income so drastic as to compel ruthless depletion of soil. That is the real menace to the Nation's future food supply. That has caused farmers to lose their homes. It has hastened the spread of tenancy. It lies at the root of many serious economic and social problems besetting agriculture.

Already the adjustment programs have made important gains in conservation and restoration of soil fertility. Many millions of acres which farmers have signed contracts to divert from surplus production are being devoted to legumes, pastures, hay and other crops which fertilize the soil and protect it from blowing and washing.

The long-time and more permanent adjustment program will provide positive incentives for soil conservation. The benefit payments can be made on a basis that will encourage individual farmers to adopt sound farm management, crop rotation and soil conservation methods. The crop insurance feature afforded by benefit payments will help farmers to maintain these beneficial systems of farming without interruption in poor crop years. Long-time adjustments can be adapted to natural soil advantages of regions and localities. Already the Adjustment Administration has under way local studies to help in working out farm programs on a county basis, so as to fit the best permanent use of the varying soil resources of the county, up to that county's share of available domestic and foreign markets. Thus, plans are being worked out that should encourage widespread

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cooperation of farmers in a permanent National soil maintenance program.

The simplified and more flexible adjustment program of the future can be made to serve the permanent advantage of producer and consumer. It can iron out the succession of extreme market gluts and extreme shortages which in the past have alternately wrecked farm income and penalized city people with too high prices. It can protect the Nation's heritage of soil, help farmers to produce up to the full possibilities of profitable export, and give this country the safest possible assurance of abundant food in the years to come. I can think of nothing more important to the permanent welfare of the Nation than long-time agricultural adjustment carried out along these lines.

NOTE: By the end of 1935 the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, pursuant to the original Act, the subsequent amendments to it, and related legislation, was following five principal methods for the adjustment of agricultural crops. These variations provided the flexibility required in the program for different products and different situations. The various methods were: (1) voluntary reduction by agreement between the Secretary of Agriculture and individual farmers, (2) marketing agreements, (3) surplus removal and market expansion, (4) tax programs for compulsory control such as the Bankhead Cotton Act (see Items 27 and 62 of Vol. III) and the Kerr Tobacco Act, (5) holding reserve supply of certain food, feed and fibre crops as protection from extreme price fluctuations.

During this three-year period, A.A.A. had made 8,400,000 produc-

tion adjustment contracts involving about 19,400,000 separate payments to farmers, and had disbursed about one and a half billion dollars. Of this, \$1,100,000, or about three-fourths, was disbursed as rental and benefit payments, exclusive of cotton options. About one-sixth of the total, or \$233,400,000, was expended for surplus removal of crops including the drought purchases of livestock, feed, seed, etc., and the eradication of diseased cattle.

By later amendments to the original A.A.A., nine additional commodities were designated as basic. In addition to the first seven (see Items 20 and 54 of Vol. II), there were added cattle, sugar beets and sugar cane, peanuts, rye, flax, barley, grain sorghums and potatoes. Production control programs for eight of these commodities were made effective at various times, and only a few of them were continuously in operation.

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In 1932 approximately 205,600,000 acres were producing commodities to which crop-adjustment programs were later applied. By 1933 these had been reduced to 194,000,000 acres, and of this acreage 91,882,000 acres were covered by production control contracts. In 1934 162,882,000 acres were producing these products, and 144,884,000 acres were covered by contracts. In 1935, 180,129,000 acres were producing adjusted products and 150,543,000 acres were covered by contracts.

The acreage "rented" by the Government on which farm production was shifted by the program during its three years of operation was covered by 1,626,000 contracts in 1933, 3,105,000 in 1934, and 3,400,000 in 1935.

The program was practically self-supporting. The total expenditures in anticipation of processing taxes were \$1,233,435,000. The taxes actually collected fell short of that figure by about \$296,000,000 which is the amount held up by court injunctions obtained by processors against the payment of the tax. Had all of the taxes which had been assessed, \$1,219,461,000, been paid, the collections would have fallen short of expenditures by only \$14,000,000. Allowing for the lag between assessments and collections, it seems that the expenditures would have been fully repaid by tax collections.

As the program developed, farm

leaders and farmers played a progressively important part in policy and in administration. Approximately 4,600 county control associations were formed for most of the basic commodities for which voluntary adjustment plans were developed.

In addition to these local associations, six direct referenda were taken in 1934 and 1935 among farmers of five of the basic commodities—wheat, cotton, tobacco, corn and hogs. Votes were cast in these referenda by non-signers as well as signers of adjustment contracts. The vote for continuance of production-control measures for the various commodities ranged from 67 percent to more than 95 percent. The total vote in these referenda was 4,288,510, of which 3,707,642 votes were in favor of continuance.

A further means of improving agricultural conditions, especially for producers of non-basic commodities, was marketing agreements, licenses and orders (see Items 20 and 54 of Vol. II). Licenses and orders provided a means of making marketing programs effective on the minority who had not signed the agreements. Fifty-four such marketing agreements, eighty-four licenses, and two orders have been put into effect. Orders specifically limited in their application (see Item 113, this volume) and replacing licenses were not provided for until after the decision of the Supreme Court declar-

A Tribute to Will Rogers

ing N.I.R.A. codes unconstitutional, when in August, 1935, amendments to the Agricultural Adjustment Act were adopted.

The surplus removal programs of A.A.A. totaled \$204,000,000 at the close of 1935.

For statement of general accomplishments and benefits under A.A.A., see note to Item 39, Vol. V.

As far back as late 1934 and early 1935, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration had begun to plan a transition from the temporary emergency phase of the adjustment programs to a long-time phase, which would give a larger place to soil conservation and improved farm management practice. That policy was discussed by me in the foregoing speech. It had been the subject of discussions over many months in 1935 with representatives of farmers, agricultural colleges and extension workers.

On January 6, 1936, the United States Supreme Court in the case of *United States vs. Butler, et al, receivers of Hoosac Mills Corpora-*

tion, 297 U. S. 1, declared unconstitutional the production control activities carried on by means of contracts and processing tax provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and brought the farmers' program as it was then operating to a stop. See Introduction to this volume. Instead of terminating the farmers' efforts permanently, however, the decision of the Supreme Court in the Hoosac Mills case had the effect of hastening this transition from the emergency phase to the long-time phase which had been planned. The decision, when it came, precipitated as a sudden change that which had been planned as a gradual one. See Items 4 and 6 of Volume V.

For on February 29, 1936—less than two months after the Court's decision—the Congress enacted a new law to replace the invalidated portions of A.A.A. This new law was the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, which I signed on February 29, 1936, with a statement. See Item 28, Vol. V.

153 ¶ A Tribute to Will Rogers.

October 29, 1935

My dear Mr. Vice-President:

I AM addressing you as Chairman of the Will Rogers Memorial Commission to commend the noble effort which you and your co-workers have undertaken, to the end that the memory of our late friend may be perpetuated in such a manner that his

To the Catholic War Veterans

beneficent spirit may continue to be a vital force in our common life. He loved and was loved by the American people.

His memory will ever be in benediction with the hosts of his countrymen who felt the spell of that kindly humor which while seeing facts could always laugh at fantasy. That was why his message went straight to the hearts of his fellow men. From him we can learn anew the homely lesson that the way to make progress is to build on what we have, to take from the lessons of yesterday a little more wisdom and courage to help us with the tasks of today.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable John N. Garner,
Chairman, Will Rogers Memorial Commission,
New York, N. Y.

154 ¶ A Greeting to the Catholic War Veterans.
October 30, 1935

My dear Father Higgins:

THERE is something very heartening in the message of goodwill which you, as National Chaplain of the Catholic War Veterans, addressed to me in an open letter through the medium of Station WLWL. It comes to me as a voice of confidence and of hope for a better world.

As Commander-in-Chief, I welcome the pledge of fealty from a body of veterans who have served in their country's defense and who, knowing the ardors and the heartaches and the misery of war, dedicate themselves anew to the arts of peace; for peace, too, has its own victories no less valorous than those of war. May I make humble acknowledgment of your generous sentiments concerning my leadership? Happily we are now emerging from the years of depression but I want you to understand how reassuring it is to receive a pledge of faith such as you convey in the name of the Catholic War Veterans.

To the Nursing Profession

Ours will be the victory if we set ourselves resolutely to the performance of those spiritual and corporal acts of mercy which have ever been the salvation of men and of Nations. With organizations like yours marshaled in a mighty crusade for peace, we may look forward to a time, let us hope, not far distant, when under the Providence of God, war shall be no more and peace shall be the heritage of men of good will.

Very sincerely yours,

Reverend E. J. Higgins,
National Chaplain, Catholic War Veterans,
Long Island City, N. Y.

155 ¶ A Tribute to the Nursing Profession.
October 30, 1935

My dear Doctor Parrish:

IT HAS just come to my attention that some thirty-eight nurses, victims of an infantile paralysis epidemic in Los Angeles, are being cared for in the Los Angeles General Hospital and in the hospital of Physicians and Surgeons in Glendale. My heart goes out to these young sufferers—living martyrs to their unselfish devotion to the nursing profession. I should greatly appreciate it if you would convey to each of them an expression of my fellow feeling for them in the sacrifice they have made and are making.

Any words of mine seem feeble indeed in the face of their affliction; and yet, I cannot restrain the impulse to record my appreciation of their heroism. Because of their suffering the suffering of others was alleviated. They will ever be held in honored reverence for their unselfish ministrations.

Very sincerely yours,

Doctor George Parrish,
Health Officer,
Los Angeles, California.

156 ¶ Presidential Statement against American Profiteering in Italian-Ethiopian War.

October 30, 1935

IN DEALING with the conflict between Ethiopia and Italy, I have carried into effect the will and intent of the Neutrality Resolution recently enacted by Congress. We have prohibited all shipments of arms, ammunition and implements of war to the belligerent Governments. By my public statement of October 5th, which was emphasized by the Secretary of State on October 10th, we have warned American citizens against transactions of any character with either of the belligerent Nations except at their own risk.

This Government is determined not to become involved in the controversy and is anxious for the restoration and maintenance of peace.

However, in the course of war, tempting trade opportunities may be offered to our people to supply material which would prolong the war. I do not believe that the American people will wish for abnormally increased profits that temporarily might be secured by greatly extending our trade in such materials; nor would they wish the struggles on the battlefield to be prolonged because of profits accruing to a comparatively small number of American citizens.

Accordingly, the American Government is keeping informed as to all shipments consigned for export to both belligerents.

NOTE: This statement was issued 1935, in connection with the same in amplification of a prior statement of mine, dated October 5, matter. (See Items 143 and 145, this volume.)

A Joint Statement

157 ¶ Joint Statement by the President and Rt. Hon. W. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, on Trade Relations. November 9, 1935

THE President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Canada have considered the question of increased trade which has been discussed for some time by representatives of the two Nations. There is complete agreement on the objective of a greatly increased flow of trade for the benefit of both countries and substantial progress has been made toward this end. It is recognized that such an increase would be beneficially felt in all activities, because trade is but another word for increased employment, transportation and consumption.

158 ¶ Armistice Day Address at Arlington National Cemetery. November 11, 1935

Friends and fellow Americans:

THE living memory of the World War is close to each and every one of us today. Our thoughts return to great objectives of the past, even as the minds of older men go back to their boyhood's ideals.

We Americans were so placed in those days that we gained a perspective of the great world conflict that was perhaps clearer than that of our fellow men who were closer to the scene of battle. For most of the first three years of the conflict we were not participants; but during the final phase we ourselves engaged on many fronts.

For that reason perhaps we understood, as well as any, the cries that went up—that the world conflict should be made a war to end wars. We were not invaded, nor were we threatened with invasion then or later; but the very distance of our view led us to perceive the dire results of war through days of following peace.

Armistice Day Address

The primary purpose of the United States of America is to avoid being drawn into war. We seek also in every practicable way to promote peace and to discourage war. Except for those few who have placed or who place temporary, selfish gain ahead of national and world peace, the overwhelming mass of American citizens are in hearty accord with these basic policies of our Government, as they are also entirely sympathetic with the efforts of other Nations to avoid and to end war.

That is why we too have striven with great consistency to approve steps to remove the causes of war and to disapprove steps taken by others to commit acts of aggression. We have either led or performed our full part in every important attempt to limit and to reduce world armaments. We have sought by definite act and solemn commitment to establish the United States as a good neighbor among Nations. We are acting to simplify definitions and facts by calling war "War" when armed invasion and a resulting killing of human beings take place.

But though our course is consistent and clear, it is with disappointment and sorrow that most Americans confess that the world's gain thus far has been small.

I would not be frank with you if I did not tell you that the dangers that confront the future of mankind as a whole are greater to the world and therefore to us than the dangers which confront the people of the United States by and in themselves alone.

Jealousies between Nations continue; armaments increase; national ambitions that disturb the world's peace are thrust forward. Most serious of all, international confidence in the sacredness of international contracts is on the wane.

The memory of our hopes of 1917 and 1918 dies with the death of those of us who took part. It is, therefore, your sacred obligation and mine, by conscious, definite effort, to pass that memory on to succeeding generations. A new generation, even in its cradle or still unborn, is coming to the fore. The children in our schools, the young men and women passing through our colleges into productive life have, unlike us, no direct

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knowledge of the meaning of war. They are not immune to the glamour of war, to the opportunities to escape from the drabness and worry of hard times at home in the glory and heroism of the arms factory and the battlefield. Fortunately, there is evidence on every hand that the youth of America, as a whole, is not trapped by that delusion. They know that elation and prosperity which may come from a new war must lead — for those who survive it — to economic and social collapse more sweeping than any we have experienced in the past. While, therefore, we cannot and must not hide our concern for grave world dangers, and while, at the same time, we cannot and must not build walls around ourselves and hide our heads in the sand, we must go forward with all our strength to stress and strive for international peace.

In this effort America must and will protect herself. Under no circumstances will this policy of self-protection go to lengths beyond self-protection. Aggression on the part of the United States is an impossibility in so far as the present Administration of your Government is concerned. Defense against aggression by others — adequate defense on land, on sea and in air — is our accepted policy; and the measure of that defense is and will be solely the amount necessary to safeguard us against the armaments of others. The more greatly they decrease their armaments, the more quickly and surely shall we decrease ours.

In many other fields, by word and by deed, we are giving example to the world by removing or lowering barriers which impede friendly intercourse. Our soldier and sailor dead call to us across the years to make our lives effective in building constructively for peace. It is fitting that on this Armistice Day, seventeen years later, I am privileged to tell you that between us and a great neighbor another act cementing our historic friendship has been agreed upon and is being consummated. Between Canada and the United States exists a neighborliness, a genuine friendship which for over a century has dispelled every passing rift.

Our two peoples, each independent, are closely knit by ties of

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blood and a common heritage; our standards of life are substantially the same; our commerce and our economic conditions rest upon the same foundations. Between two such peoples, if we would build constructively for peace and progress, the flow of intercourse should be mutually beneficial and not unduly hampered. Each has much to gain by material profit, by spiritual profit, by increased employment through the means of enlarged trade, one with the other.

I am, therefore, happy to be able to tell you almost in celebration of this Armistice Day that the Canadian Prime Minister and I, after thoughtful discussion of our national problems, have reached a definite agreement which will eliminate disagreements and unreasonable restrictions, and thus work to the advantage of both Canada and the United States.

I hope that this good example will reach around the world some day, for the power of good example is the strongest force in the world. It surpasses preachments; it excels good resolutions; it is far better than agreements unfulfilled.

If we as a Nation, by our good example, can contribute to the peaceful well-being of the fellowship of Nations, our course through the years will not have been in vain.

We who survive have profited by the good example of our fellow Americans who gave their lives in war. On these surrounding hills of Virginia they rest—thousands upon thousands—in the last bivouac of the dead. Below us, across the river, we see a great capital of a great Nation.

The past and the present unite in prayer that America will ever seek the ways of peace, and by her example at home and abroad speed the return of good-will among men.

159 ¶ Informal Extemporaneous Remarks to a Committee from the National Students Federation at the White House. November 11, 1935

I HAVE written a few words I want to read to you, but I wish also you would read what I said out at Arlington about an hour ago. Some of you may have heard it.

On this anniversary of the Armistice, it is heartening to receive a delegation representing more than half a million students from American schools and colleges who are mobilizing today in the interest of peace. Instead of carrying on a meaningless and emotional demonstration, you are studying the economic and social causes of war, as outlined in the document you have just read to me. Perhaps you will succeed in making that word "mobilize," which all too frequently strikes a note of terror in the hearts of the people of Europe, a word of cheer and encouragement in the Americas. You know and I know that the settlement of international disputes can be attained by peaceful means and that there are specific examples of such success in the very recent history of the American Republics.

I particularly like your reference to the need of approaching the problem of maintaining peace in the spirit of sacrifice. The sacrifice that I, as President of the United States, have asked in my Proclamation of Neutrality may well make unnecessary the supreme sacrifice that I, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, might otherwise some day be forced to ask. That is well worth remembering.

Your visit here today encourages me to believe that I have made it clear to the youth of America that their voice shall be heard and that all the branches of the Federal Government, including the White House, are ready at all times to counsel with them.

Recently, by Executive Order, I created the National Youth Administration for the purpose of dealing with your emergency relief problems and to assist, in conjunction with other agencies,

To the National Students Federation

in developing a long-range program for the permanent welfare of youth. My interest in young people is of no recent origin — so far as personal feelings go, I do not feel very much older than any of you do — because I have always recognized that the youth of today are our sole investment in tomorrow. Let us guard and nurture that investment so that it may pay rich dividends in the good things of life.

Let me talk off the record for a minute.

We people in this country today, so far as deep thinking goes, have progressed enormously in the last two or three years in regard to international problems. We have a real spirit of peace and a real spirit of good-will toward our neighbors.

I do not suppose that anything has been as successful in recent years as the fact that we have convinced Latin America, for the first time in history, that we were not some big bad wolf trying to eat them up. Of course a lot of people have tried it before, but there has always been a suspicion on the part of Latin Americans that the United States had some ulterior motive — and there was ground for that suspicion. In past years we have done all sorts of things. After all, they are a people of great pride. We should have respected that pride. Yet we sent troops to Nicaragua, to Cuba, to Haiti and to Santo Domingo. In fact, that continued until two years ago, giving them the idea that we had in the back of our minds the thought to expand and take in their territory.

You will remember that the first Congress of my Administration convened in the summer of 1933. I had already outlined the policies of the good neighbor in my Inaugural Address. In August, 1933, there were some very serious disturbances in Cuba. Naturally, you can imagine, there was a great deal of pressure on me. We had 4,000 or 5,000 Americans, all scattered over Cuba; and there was great pressure on me to send the entire United States fleet down there and, upon the least little incident, to land the troops.

Well, I took a very long chance and did three things: First of all, I sent word to Americans that if they thought there was any

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danger up-country, they had better get out to a seaport. Then I sent a lot of small ships, coast guard vessels and destroyers, into all those ports and I gave orders that they were not to do anything more than take Americans off the beach, if they wanted to be taken off the beach. At the same time I said to the Cuban authorities that they must cooperate with respect to the safety of Americans in the interior of Cuba.

That crisis lasted six weeks. As I remember it, not a single American was killed. At all times we had means there to take them off in case there was serious danger, such as fighting in the streets and so on.

Then there was another incident that showed South America that we meant what we said: I had made arrangements with the President of Haiti that instead of waiting a year to take the marines out of Haiti I would take them out right away. And we did do just that. So, from these things, Latin America knows today that we have no motives or designs on South America. The result is that today we have a fine relationship with the South American countries.

Today there is not that kind of relationship between Colombia and Paraguay but, by our example, we are helping to build up a spirit that will enable them to keep out of actual war. In these recent troubles, we have managed to keep airplane manufacturers and rifle manufacturers from sending any munitions to those countries.

When we turn to the other side of the picture, to the Nations of the rest of the world, it is different because there they do not think of us as Latin Americans do. What we can do to prevent the militaristic tendencies which are increasing over there every day that goes by, I do not know, except it be by the force of example. The more weight that example has, the more it is going to help in the world picture. Whether other Nations actually go to war or not, our example is going to have a tremendous influence.

We had word this morning from Ottawa that the trade agreement was going to be approved. That means a very large increase

To the National Students Federation

in our trade with Canada. Possibly in the course of two or three years our trade with Canada will double—it will double our trade both ways. That will mean putting people to work. It means jobs for people. It means better prices for products.

But, when the details of the agreement come out, it is certain that this or that particular group will say, "Good heavens, it is going to ruin us." Well, let us look into that. One of the items we are going to bring in under this agreement will probably be some agricultural product which will raise the total amount we buy from Canada from 2 percent to 3 percent of the total amount of the product that is consumed in this country. In other words, 97 percent of the product will still be made at home. We are proceeding on the theory that if we bring in another 1 percent of this particular item, that it is going to stimulate trade so much that the consumption in this country of that particular item will go up a good deal more than 1 percent. Take one item that my farmer friends in up-state New York are going to kick about—cream for ice cream. I am giving you these details because they all relate to peace, every one of them. Some of these people will say: "My heavens, a million and a half gallons of cream will be allowed to come into this country on a 35 percent basis instead of a 50 percent basis." Now it is perfectly true that a million and a half gallons of cream or 6,000,000 quarts sounds like an awful lot, but actually that cream represents from one-half to three-quarters of one percent of the cream consumed in this country. That is all; it is a drop in the bucket.

Now, here is the theory: There are a great many items but we can take them all together. If I give the Canadian farmers a chance to ship in a million and a half more gallons than they ship in today, it means our people are going to be able to sell a very large amount of other goods—automobiles, shoes, etc. That is our theory; the more trade, the more employment.

Of course that all goes with the problem of peace. I hope very much that you will do all you can not only to study these problems, but to understand the trade picture. If we confine our plans

A Thanksgiving Day Proclamation

to the farmers in three counties in Northern New York, we are lost.

In establishing trade relations we are establishing peaceful relations with Canada and the other American Republics and perhaps, some day, European Nations will see what we have done and will try to copy us.

160 ¶ A Thanksgiving Day Proclamation.

November 12, 1935

I, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, President of the United States of America, hereby designate Thursday, the twenty-eighth of November, 1935, as a Day of National Thanksgiving.

In traversing a period of national stress our country has been knit together in a closer fellowship of mutual interest and common purpose. We can well be grateful that more and more of our people understand and seek the greater good of the greater number. We can be grateful that selfish purpose of personal gain, at our neighbor's loss, less strongly asserts itself. We can be grateful that peace at home is strengthened by a growing willingness to common counsel. We can be grateful that our peace with other Nations continues through recognition of our own peaceful purpose.

But in our appreciation of the blessings that Divine Providence has bestowed upon us in America, we shall not rejoice as the Pharisee rejoiced. War and strife still live in the world. Rather, must America by example and in practice help to bind the wounds of others, strive against disorder and aggression, encourage the lessening of distrust among peoples and advance peaceful trade and friendship.

The future of many generations of mankind will be greatly guided by our acts in these present years. We hew a new trail.

Let us then on the day appointed offer our devotions and our humble thanks to Almighty God and pray that the people of America will be guided by Him in helping their fellow men.

161 ¶ A Letter on the Administration's Policy
toward Religious Activities in Mexico. Novem-
ber 13, 1935

My dear Mr. Carmody:

I HAVE received your letter of October 25th.

Without commenting upon the language of your communication under acknowledgment, and without reference to the accuracy of the statements or conclusions which you advance, I shall inform you once more of the attitude of this Administration in the matter of the policy pursued by the Government of Mexico toward religious activities in that Republic.

The right of United States citizens resident or traveling in foreign countries to worship freely, to conduct services within their houses, or within appropriate buildings maintained for that purpose, is desired by this Government. There has not been brought to this Government during the past year a single complaint by any United States citizen that such opportunities in Mexico have been refused them.

In respect to the rights enjoyed by Mexican citizens living in Mexico, it has been the policy of this Administration to refrain from intervening in such direct concerns of the Mexican Government. That policy of non-intervention I shall continue to pursue.

While this Government does not assume to undertake any accurate determination of what the facts in such domestic concerns of other Governments may be, this policy of non-intervention, however, can in no sense be construed as indifference on our part. I repeat what I stated publicly in San Diego, California, on October 2nd, last:

“Our national determination to keep free of foreign wars and foreign entanglements cannot prevent us from feeling deep concern when ideals and principles that we have cherished are challenged. In the United States we regard it as axiomatic that every person shall enjoy the free exercise of his

Religious Activities in Mexico

religion according to the dictates of his conscience. Our flag for a century and a half has been the symbol of the principles of liberty of conscience, of religious freedom and equality before the law; and these concepts are deeply ingrained in our national character.

“It is true that other Nations may, as they do, enforce contrary rules of conscience and conduct. It is true that policies that may be pursued under flags other than our own are beyond our jurisdiction. Yet in our inner individual lives we can never be indifferent, and we assert for ourselves complete freedom to embrace, to profess and to observe the principles for which our flag has so long been the lofty symbol. As it was so well said by James Madison, ‘We hold it for a fundamental and inalienable truth that religion and the manner of discharging it can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence.’”

This statement, I now reiterate to you.

Inasmuch as you have referred in your letter under acknowledgment to the policy pursued in such matters as this by previous Administrations and have mentioned specifically the Administration of President Theodore Roosevelt, it may not be inappropriate to call to your attention the statement of former President Theodore Roosevelt contained in his Annual Message to the Congress of December 6, 1904:

“... Ordinarily it is very much wiser and more useful for us to concern ourselves with striving for our own moral and material betterment here at home than to concern ourselves with trying to better the conditions of things in other Nations. We have plenty of sins of our own to war against, and under ordinary circumstances we can do more for the general uplifting of humanity by striving with heart and soul to put a stop to civic corruption, to brutal lawlessness and violent race prejudices here at home than by passing resolutions about wrongdoing elsewhere.”

You and I abhor equally, I trust, religious intolerance, whether at home or abroad. For my own part, however, I decline to permit this Government to undertake a policy of interference in the

Toward the Maintenance of Peace

domestic concerns of foreign Governments and thereby jeopardize the maintenance of peaceful conditions.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Martin H. Carmody,
Supreme Knight, Knights of Columbus,
New Haven, Connecticut

162 ¶ A Letter on the Administration's Policy
toward the Maintenance of Peace.

November 14, 1935

My dear Bishop Oldham:

PERMIT me to tell you how deeply I appreciate your letter of October 31, 1935, and how completely I share your desire that America, as you express it, should not let the world down in the crisis now confronting it. I heartily subscribe to your statement "that the only sure way for us to keep out of war is to have no war anywhere, just as the only assurance that your own house will not go down in the conflagration is to take effective steps to prevent all fires." The initiative taken by the United States on many occasions in promoting international peace efforts both before and after the World War were all predicated on the thought that world peace represents the only ultimate security against involvement in war.

I need not detail to you the various steps this Government took prior to the outbreak of the war between Ethiopia and Italy, designed to bring to bear in the interest of peace the weight of this country's moral influence as a co-sponsor and signatory of the Pact of Paris. The failure of the world effort to preserve peace, however, placed us before a new situation. War had become a reality—the fire had broken out. Faced with this fact, it became incumbent on me to give first thought to the unquestioned mandate of our people, expressed in recent legislation and in numerous other ways, through the press, through public gatherings and

Arms Embargo Revoked

through petitions and letters, that, above all, the United States should not be drawn into the conflict. But while shaping our Nation's policies to the purpose of banning the fire from its shores, I did not for one moment lose sight of the truth that the best guarantee against such a calamity would be the smothering of the fire itself. Hence, the measures that the Government has successively adopted have served the twofold object of keeping us out of war and of confining and shortening hostilities.

You state that the efforts of fifty-two Nations may come to naught if the United States stands aloof. I submit that, far from standing aloof, we have, in the various steps we have taken to date, done our share toward the restoration of peace and, in a number of respects, have gone beyond the actions so far taken by other Nations.

You may rest assured that, in continuing closely to follow every development abroad, I shall have steadily before me that dual purpose I have attempted to set forth above. The support given me thus far in this difficult task by the public has been all but unanimous and has been most heartening to me.

Sincerely yours,

The Right Reverend
G. Ashton Oldham,
Albany, New York

163 ¶ The President Revokes the Arms Embargo on the Conclusion of Peace in the Chaco. Proclamation No. 2147. November 14, 1935

WHEREAS by a Proclamation of the President issued on May 28, 1934, pursuant to a Joint Resolution of Congress approved by the President on the same date, it was declared that the prohibition of the sale of arms and munitions of war in the United States to those countries then engaged in armed conflict in the Chaco might contribute to the reestablishment of peace between those countries; and

Arms Embargo Revoked

WHEREAS by virtue of the Joint Resolution and the Proclamation above mentioned it became unlawful to sell arms or munitions of war to Bolivia or Paraguay; and

WHEREAS the Peace Conference in Plenary Session in Buenos Aires formally adopted on October 28, 1935, a Resolution declaring that the war between Bolivia and Paraguay had come to an end; and

WHEREAS the duly authorized representatives of Bolivia and Paraguay reached an agreement in the names of those countries at Buenos Aires on June 12, 1935, and embodied that Agreement in a Protocol of that date as follows:

"Their Excellencies the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Paraguay and of the Republic of Bolivia, having exhibited their full powers, which were found to be in good and due form, decided, under the auspices of the said Mediation Commission, to conclude an agreement, *ad referendum* to their respective Governments, on the following bases:

"III

"The adoption of the following measures of security:

"3. The obligation not to make new purchases of war material, other than that indispensable for replacement, until the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace."

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, do hereby declare and proclaim that I have found that the prohibition of the sale of arms and munitions of war in the United States to Bolivia or Paraguay will no longer be necessary as a contribution to the reestablishment of peace between those countries, and the above-mentioned Proclamation of May 28, 1934, is hereby revoked as to the sale of arms and munitions of war to Bolivia or Paraguay from and after November 29, 1935, provided, however, that this action shall not have the effect of releasing or extinguishing any penalty, forfeiture or liability incurred under the aforesaid Proclamation of May 28, 1934, or the Joint Resolution of Congress approved by the President on the same date; and that the said Proclamation and Joint Resolution shall be treated as remaining in force for

The Commonwealth of the Philippines

the purpose of sustaining any proper action or prosecution for the enforcement of such penalty, forfeiture or liability.

NOTE: This Proclamation was issued on the termination of hostilities in the Chaco, which had begun in 1934. (See Item 95, Vol. III, for my Proclamation placing an arms embargo against shipments of munitions, etc., to the combatants in the Chaco.)

164 ¶ Presidential Proclamation and Congratulations on the Establishment of the Commonwealth of the Philippines. Proclamation No. 2148. November 14, 1935

WHEREAS pursuant to the provisions of the Act of Congress entitled "An Act to provide for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands, to provide for the adoption of a constitution and a form of government for the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes," approved March 24, 1934 (48 Stat. 456), and in accordance with the Constitution of the Commonwealth of the Philippines heretofore adopted and ratified by the people of the Philippine Islands, an election was held in the Philippine Islands on September 17, 1935, for the purpose of electing officers of the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines; and

WHEREAS the Governor General of the Philippine Islands has certified to me as President of the United States of America the result of the said election:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the aforesaid Act and in conformity with Section 4 thereof, do announce and proclaim that at the election so held in the Philippine Islands on September 17, 1935, officers of the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines were duly elected as follows:

President: Manuel L. Quezon of Baler, Tayabas.

The Commonwealth of the Philippines

Vice-President: Sergio Osmena of Cebu, Cebu.

Members of the National Assembly: [*Here follow the names of the members.*]

This Proclamation shall be effective upon its promulgation at Manila, Philippine Islands, on November 15, 1935, by the Secretary of War of the United States of America, who is hereby designated as my representative for that purpose.

And I do further announce and proclaim that, in accordance with the provisions of the aforesaid Act, upon such promulgation of this Proclamation the existing Philippine Government shall terminate and the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines shall enter upon its rights, privileges, powers, and duties as provided under the said Constitution of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

The President cabled Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines:

I send my heartiest congratulations upon your inauguration as the first President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines and my best wishes for the success of your Administration.

The following message by the President was sent to the Secretary of War, in Manila:

Please convey to President Quezon and the Filipino people on the occasion of the birth of the Commonwealth of the Philippines my sincere congratulations on this great forward step in the establishment of popular self-government and express to them my confidence in their ability to carry out successfully the final steps in the accomplishment of their complete independence.

The President also sent the following cablegram to the Honorable Frank Murphy, United States High Commissioner to the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines:

Please accept the expression of my gratitude and appreciation for the loyal and efficient manner in which you have discharged

Effect of Canadian Trade Agreement

your duties as Governor General of the Philippine Islands and my congratulations upon your assumption of office as the first High Commissioner of the United States to the Commonwealth of the Philippines. I wish you every success in the important task which lies before you and send you my warmest personal regards.

NOTE: For a history of the events Vol. III, and 34A and 39 of this leading to the establishment of volume.
the Commonwealth, see Items 34 of

165 ¶ A Letter on Effect of Canadian Trade Agreement in Reference to Lumber. November 15, 1935

Dear Governor:

You will appreciate the underlying motives of general industrial welfare activating this Government throughout these negotiations. I feel that benefits obtainable from this treaty will permeate agricultural and other industries, and improve the general economic situation. The lumber industry is in an especially favorable situation to benefit by such a general improvement. Also, any reciprocal arrangement must involve those items which Canada has to sell.

One of these items is lumber. In recognition of the production of lumber in the Pacific Northwest, the amount of Douglas fir and hemlock involved in the treaty is sharply limited. The 250,000,000 board feet is only a small fraction—possibly about 5 percent—of even the 1934 lumber production in Washington and Oregon, and can easily be more than balanced by better demand from the country. The 50 percent increase in lumber consumption of the country of 1934 as compared with the 1932 low is ample evidence of this. The general effect of the treaty, I am confident, will be to continue and stimulate the steady upturn of industry in general, and thus to increase the total market for Douglas fir and hemlock beyond the quota under discussion.

Excerpt from a Press Conference

I thoroughly appreciate your comments on the strong influence of the lumber industry on the general welfare of the Northwest. A large part of your people depend on the utilization of this natural resource. Any loss in lumber production unless compensated by increased market demands will result in payroll losses and unemployment. Your lumber markets are largely in our Central and Eastern sections, and those sections will, I feel, markedly benefit in their economic well-being by the proposed treaty provisions.

I want to assure you personally that after reviewing the possible effects of the reduction of this amount of lumber, and the general advantages involved in the whole set-up, I must conclude that the negotiations must appreciably improve our national conditions and will thus tend to improve your local situation.

Sincerely yours,

Governor Charles H. Martin,
Salem, Oregon

166 ¶ Excerpt from a Press Conference; Senator George Norris. November 15, 1935

Q. Mr. President, I was wondering if you read the statement by Senator Norris that he might not run again in 1936? I was wondering, if you had, if you would care to comment.

The President: I understood there was a question as to whether he had made it.

Q. I read several versions of it.

The President: I don't see why I should not say something about it. It is perfectly clear, I feel. It is the kind of thing you can say about a very few individuals in the United States, and George Norris happens to be one of them. Put in this way: If I were a citizen of the State of Nebraska, regardless of what party I belonged to, I would not allow George Norris to retire from the United States Senate, whether he wanted to or not, for the very good rea-

The Trans-Pacific Sky Mail

son that I feel that he is necessary not only to Nebraska, but to the United States as long as he lives.

(See also speech at Omaha, Neb., October 10, 1936, urging reelection of Senator Norris, Item 156, Vol. V.)

167 ¶ Congratulations on the First Flight of the Trans-Pacific Sky Mail. November 15, 1935

My dear Mr. Postmaster General:

PLEASE convey to the people of the Pacific Coast the deep interest and heartfelt congratulations of an air-minded sailor. Even at this distance I thrill to the wonder of it all.

They tell me that the inauguration of the Trans-Pacific sky mail also celebrates the 100th anniversary of the arrival of the first clipper ship in San Francisco. The years between the two events mark a century of progress that is without parallel, and it is our just pride that America and Americans have played no minor part in the blazing of new trails. There can be no higher hope than that this heritage of courage, daring, initiative and enterprise will be conserved and intensified.

Very sincerely yours,

The Honorable,
The Postmaster General,
Washington, D. C.

167A ¶ A Letter to the President of the Philippines Carried on the First Flight of the Trans-Pacific Sky Mail. November 15, 1935

My dear Mr. President:

IT is a great pleasure for me to send you this word of greeting by the first airplane to carry the mails between the United States and the Philippine Islands.

The Canadian Trade Agreement

I feel that the more rapid communications which will inevitably follow the inauguration of this service will result in increased benefits to the trade and intercourse between the United States and the Philippines.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

The Honorable
Manuel L. Quezon,
President of the Commonwealth
of the Philippines,
Manila

168 ¶ Statements by the President and the Prime Minister of Canada on the Signing of the Canadian Trade Agreement. November 15, 1935

By the President:

THE Trade Agreement which has just been signed between the United States and Canada places the trade relations between the two countries on a basis of mutual agreement for the first time since 1866. I am happy to have a part in removing this anomaly in the relations between two countries which are united by so many bonds of friendship and common heritage.

The signing of this Agreement marks the reversal of the trend of the last two decades toward undue and unnecessary trade barriers between our two countries. I am confident that this constructive step will contribute greatly to the economic recovery of both the United States and Canada.

By the Prime Minister:

The kindly words and sentiments to which you, Mr. President, have just given expression, will be warmly welcomed by His Majesty the King in whose name I have had the honor to sign the Trade

The National Resources Committee

Treaty which has just been concluded between the United States and Canada.

They will, I know, be deeply appreciated by the people of Canada.

May I say, Mr. Secretary, that I very cordially endorse all that you have said of the mutual advantages likely to flow to our respective countries from the terms of the Treaty?

On behalf of Canada, I heartily reciprocate the sentiments of international good-will you have so generously expressed.

I believe with you that the signature of this Agreement is witness of the joint intention of the Governments of the United States and Canada to give rapid effect to our policies in a practical manner. At last our formal trade relations have been brought into harmony with the underlying realities of public and private friendship between our two peoples. The Agreement will, I am confident, confer substantial benefits alike on the producers and consumers of both countries, while safeguarding with great care every essential interest. I feel sure that its value will be shown beyond question by a marked increase in commerce within the next few months. This undoubtedly will help both countries to make more rapid progress toward complete economic recovery.

Nor will this agreement benefit North America alone. All the world will gain from greater trade on this continent.

Nor will its benefits be confined to trade. To an anxious and troubled world we hope that there will be opened to the Nations, by the force of our example, vistas of a surer path to progress and a more lasting road to peace.

NOTE: See Items 33 and 111 of discussion of the origin and history Vol. III and Item 243, Vol. V, for a of the reciprocal trade agreements.

169 ¶ Presidential Statement on the State Planning Report of the National Resources Committee. November 16, 1935

THE rapid organization and progress of forty-six State Planning Boards, the accomplishments of which are outlined in the report of the National Resources Committee, show that the peo-

To the National Foreign Trade Council

ple of our country understand and want long-range planning and foresight in public affairs. To give lasting substance and direction to planning for the wise use of our human and natural resources, we need permanent advisory planning boards for towns, cities, counties, States and the Nation.

The report prepared for the President by the National Resources Committee summarizes the activities and progress of the State Planning Boards organized throughout the country in the last two years. It presents recommendations that Federal assistance to the State units be continued. The work of the State Boards in the field of land use, water resources, social problems, public construction, electric power problems and mineral resources, etc., is described. The Committee's survey of the organization of the State Planning Boards shows that nearly 500 leading citizens of forty-six States have actively participated in the work of State planning.

NOTE: See Items 8 and 73 of this volume for a discussion of the various reports of the National Resources Committee.

170 ¶ A Letter to the National Foreign Trade Council. November 19, 1935

My dear Mr. Thomas:

I AM delighted to have this opportunity of sending my warm greetings to those assembled at Houston for the National Foreign Trade Convention. It is a matter of sincere regret to me that it has proved impossible to address you over the radio, as I had hoped and planned. Instead, may I send you a personal message by this letter?

The American people, I am sure, share my pride in the self-reliance and alertness of you who are engaged in export and import trade and related occupations. It is the knowledge that you will take full advantage of any new opportunities for expanding our foreign trade that encourages the Administration in concert

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with other Governments to press forward with its efforts to bring about a relaxation of governmental restrictions which now throttle international commerce.

It is peculiarly fitting that you should hold your Convention in a State whose two principal products—cotton and petroleum—afford striking examples of our dependence upon foreign markets. In this country, we use only about two-fifths of our normal cotton crop. Many other areas of this country produce agricultural or industrial commodities in excess of our domestic needs. But foreign trade is not merely the concern of particular localities and industries. It is essential to the Nation as a whole since the prosperity of each section of this country depends upon the prosperity of other sections. All of us who desire a prosperous America have a vital stake in a sound solution of your difficulties.

The full reward of America's high productive capacity is only gained when our business men and our farmers can sell their surpluses abroad. This is true of every great surplus-producing Nation. As every producer knows, it is not merely the value of his foreign sales which is lost when he is left with an unmarketable surplus on his hands. The value of his entire production is seriously impaired. In turn, every producer in the country suffers from the resulting repercussions. The fall in our exports from over five billion dollars in 1929 to little more than one and a half billion dollars in 1932 was but a part of the huge loss in trade shared by all the Nations of the world. No Nation has escaped the intense human suffering and unprecedented unemployment which accompanied the collapse of both home and foreign trade during these years.

We, as well as every other Nation, must develop our domestic economy in every profitable way. Foreign markets must be regained if American producers are to rebuild a full and enduring domestic prosperity for our people. There is no other way if we would avoid painful economic dislocations, social readjustments, and unemployment. In rebuilding our foreign markets we cannot afford to lose sight of the fact that a market only exists because people buy as well as sell. In the long run a Nation's sales are

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inescapably limited by its purchases. This does not mean an unprofitable exchange of goods. It means that each country has something it desires to sell which other countries find it desirable and profitable to buy. It is in this sense and to this extent that we must import. We import in order that we may be paid for our exports with foreign materials and goods in much the same way as the farmer exchanges his products with the country merchant for those articles which he needs and cannot produce economically on the farm.

International trade today is being throttled not only by prohibitive duties, but also by import quotas and other trade control measures. These highly arbitrary restrictions prevent the flow of trade through normal and most profitable channels. The growing cost both to the United States and to other Nations is becoming intolerable. World trade for the profit of all must be liberalized and freed from discriminatory practices. There must be a return to fair and friendly trade methods. We cannot accomplish this alone. The only practicable way to assure American trade of protection against injurious trade barriers in foreign countries is to join with these countries in a concerted effort to reduce excessive trade restrictions and to reestablish commercial relations on a non-discriminatory basis. This is the kernel of the American trade agreements program.

Hard experience is driving business men all over the world to similar conclusions. The International Chamber of Commerce at its meeting in Paris last June voted its general approval of the principles upon which the American trade recovery program is built, and urged "that bilateral trade agreements with the strict observance of the unconditional most-favored-nation clause be negotiated as rapidly as possible."

The Governments of the world also are coming to realize these inescapable truths. In September of this year representatives of more than fifty Nations meeting in Geneva declared that the "removal of impediments to the exchange of goods" is "indispensable" for economic recovery, and recommended that com-

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mercial agreements should be negotiated "upon the principle of the most-favored-nation clause."

The American program stands out today in the eyes of the world as a definitely constructive program designed to combat the tendency toward excessive national self-sufficiency and the depressed standards of living which extreme economic isolation inevitably entails.

Furthermore, if we would build constructively for peace, we must build upon economic foundations which are sound; and sound economics requires liberalized trade. America stands ready to go forward with other Nations in this great movement.

Very sincerely yours,

Eugene P. Thomas, Esq.,
Chairman, National Foreign Trade Council,
Rice Hotel, Houston, Texas

(This letter was read at a Dinner of the Council in Convention at Houston, Tex., November 19, 1935.)

171 ¶ Informal Extemporaneous Remarks to Members of the Conference of Mayors at the White House. November 19, 1935

I AM very glad to see you here. Many of you I have known personally for a great many years. With some of you, I have worked on many problems in the past.

I have not prepared any formal remarks for your gathering here. I wish, though, that I could have sat with you in your meetings to hear what has been said and to learn more about the problems of government.

In the past few years we have all learned, I think, a great deal about the problems of government. In the broad sense of the word we have tried experiments. Some of them have been very successful; and some of them, like all experiments, have not been quite so successful. Through this process, we are building

The Conference of Mayors

up, as Mayor Hoan has said, a new relationship—a perfectly sound relationship—between the different branches of Government, municipal, State and national.

One of the newspaper men, a few moments ago in the Press Conference, asked the kind of question you are all asked and I am asked every week. Members of the press are present, I know, but I do not mind their hearing this. The particular question was this:

“Is the Government going to stop giving relief next July?”

That is the kind of thing—spreading the word around that everybody who is now on relief will be taken off relief rolls beginning the first of July—we have to combat.

My answer was that the Federal Government, and I am sure your answer will be the same for the city governments, does not propose to let people starve after the first of July any more than during the past few years.

We are learning also a greater efficiency. Certainly the new work this year, so far as lasting usefulness is concerned, has been infinitely more successful, better planned and better carried out than it was under the old C.W.A. program of 1933. Think what a gain it has been in two years. Go over the lists of projects, both W.P.A. and Public Works this year, and the percentage of them which will be of lasting benefit to the communities is very, very high. That is something I think the average citizen in all of your cities appreciates, in spite of various attacks which have been made on these projects.

Of course, in the last analysis, you people who run governments of the cities in this country—and in the country districts, the supervisors and county commissioners—are responsible for these projects. You people suggest them and, on the whole, your suggestions with respect to these projects have been extraordinarily good. I am delighted with the usefulness and permanence of them.

All of this has come about in the course of less than three years. All of us have learned a lot, but we still have much to learn.

The Conference of Mayors

There are various processes of government that can be simplified and ought to be simplified.

For example, and this is not my fault because Congress put it in the bill, I have to sign all the allotments in person. I have signed hundreds, thousands, of allotment papers for various projects. They ought never to come to my desk, but we have to go through what is called "red tape," because of the law. When applications come in here from the various localities, they have to go through a certain process. They have to go, in part, to the Director of the Budget. Then they come to me and then they go to the Comptroller General of the United States. There has been a lot of talk about projects being held up for a long time by the Comptroller General but, after all, he is limited in the staff he has. The way he has done this work has been perfectly fine. His people are worn to the bone. They have been working day and night. Hence the projects have been coming through and I think some people are going to find in a few weeks that the program as a whole is going to be carried out before the end of November, just as planned last spring.

I would like to say another word on a subject—an important subject—that you and I have in mind. That subject is taxation. Taxes have grown up like Topsy in this country. There have been a great many efforts to simplify taxation—to establish lines of demarcation between the different types of taxation, giving certain types to localities, others to the States, and still others to the Federal Government.

We are stepping on each other's toes, especially in the past five, ten or fifteen years. In fact, virtually since the beginning of the World War the general tax situation in the United States has become more complicated and has called for revision. I think the time is coming—not this coming session of Congress because we hope that it will be a very short session—but by the following year, when all of us can get together and sit around a table and work out a better system of taxation, State, municipal and Federal.

Late this winter we are going to ask you to come down and

Remarks at the Thanksgiving Dinner at Warm Springs

talk about that subject around the table. I suppose this meeting will be dignified by the name of a Tax Conference; but I would rather keep it informal and have it become a continuing study which will bring forth an intelligent report before the close of the year 1936.

Mayor Hoan has said that this is a non-partisan gathering. We have to keep it so and, in the approaching conference, we will have to think of taxation in a non-partisan way.

172 ¶ Informal Extemporaneous Remarks at the Annual Thanksgiving Dinner, Warm Springs, Georgia. November 28, 1935

Members of the Warm Springs family:

THIS is a great surprise to all of us except the Committee themselves, and I know that I can speak not only for the old-timers, but for the young-timers, in saying that we, the members of the Warm Springs family, are made very happy in having with us for all time this portrait of our beloved Dr. Hubbard.

It has been the custom, at former dinners—I have a guilty feeling myself—to tell many anecdotes of former years. I am not going to talk about the past tonight, except to say that I am glad that there are so many of the original family still with us. May they always come to these annual parties!

I want to say, tonight, just a word about the present and the future. As you know, our work, year by year, is spreading—spreading all over the country. This past year we have gone into almost every community of the land; and because of a certain Birthday Party that was held last January, the good people of this country contributed over a million dollars to the cause of fighting infantile paralysis. It was a fine thing that people did in all of our communities, and I think that we should make it very clear that of that million dollars, not one penny came to us here at Warm Springs.

Remarks at the Thanksgiving Dinner at Warm Springs

Seventy percent of it, seven hundred thousand dollars, has been used and is being used today to help young people and middle-aged people and old people get well in their own respective communities in every State of the Union. And—equally important, I think—the other 30 percent of that splendid gift has been distributed by a very distinguished committee of doctors to be used in a dozen different places in research work to find out, for the benefit of future generations, how best we can stop in our country the spread of these epidemics that are almost annual occurrences.

One of the members of this Committee mentioned to me the other day, at the White House, that for the first time in all medical history, so far as he knew, research into one definite known problem is adequately financed. Every scientist, who is engaged in this research work, has been able to come to this Committee and to the Warm Springs Foundation and obtain sufficient funds to carry on the work that he is doing.

I feel very happy about the contribution that the Foundation has made and is making in extending our work and fighting in every part of the country one of our most serious epidemic diseases.

As to our own problems here, I think you probably know more about them than I do. As I come back year after year, unfortunately only once a year nowadays, I find that more improvements have been made; and this year is no exception.

I can assure you that the Trustees, most of whom, I am glad to say, are here tonight, are meeting often, are giving their time and their thought to the program for the future years here at Warm Springs. That is why I am very confident that, in addition to the work we are doing now, as the years go by we are going to do even more important work not only here, but everywhere in this country and, may I say, in Canada too.

I am glad I shall be with you another ten days. This has been a very wonderful trip and a very wonderful Thanksgiving dinner for me. This is a real family party. It still breathes a certain something which newcomers do not quite understand until they have

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been here for a week or two; but it gets them all — the old spirit of Warm Springs.

And now, in accordance with a very old custom, I am going to stand by the door because I want to shake hands with you as you go out.

NOTE: On this Thanksgiving Day trip to Warm Springs, Ga., in addition to the speeches printed as Items 172, 173 and 175, I made short informal talks at Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 29; and Piedmont Park, Atlanta, Ga., Nov.

29. En route from Warm Springs, Ga., to Chicago, Ill., where the speeches printed as Items 177 and 178 were delivered, I made short informal talks at Chattanooga, Tenn., December 8, 1935, and Toledo, Ohio, December 9, 1935.

173 ¶ “Progress Means Not Only Sound Business and Agriculture, But Sound Improvement in American Life.” Address at Atlanta, Georgia.
November 29, 1935

My Friends and Neighbors:

I AM happy to be in Georgia. I am proud of Georgia. Happy to-day especially because of this moving reception which my friends, the Senators and all of the Representatives in the Congress from this State, have tendered me, and to which you, the good people of this State, have responded with such warmth and hospitality. Happy because I meet again so many old friends and neighbors. Proud because I see signs on every hand that the overwhelming majority of the people of this State are keeping pace with the millions of others throughout the Nation who believe in progress, are willing to work for progress and are going to get progress. Proud because I see clear signs of a revival of material prosperity in country and in city, and especially because I sense a swelling prosperity of the spirit that spells a greater help and a deeper happiness for our fellow men.

Eleven years ago I came to live at Warm Springs for the first

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time. That was a period of great so-called prosperity. But I would not go back to the conditions of 1924, and I do not believe that you people would want to go back to those conditions either.

Of that year and of the five years that followed, I have a clear recollection which you can verify for yourselves. In that orgy of "prosperity" a wild speculation was building speculative profits for the speculators and preparing the way for you, the public, to be left "holding the bag." In that orgy of "prosperity," banks, individually and by chains, were closing their doors at the expense of the depositors. In that orgy of "prosperity" the farmers of the South had become involuntary speculators themselves, never certain when they planted their cotton whether it would bring twenty-five cents or fifteen cents or a nickel. In that orgy of "prosperity" the poorest vied with the richest in throwing their earnings and their savings into a cauldron of land and stock speculation. In that orgy of "prosperity" slum conditions went unheeded, better education was neglected, usurious interest charges mounted, child labor continued, starvation wages were too often the rule instead of the exception. Yes, in those days Mammon ruled America. That is why we are not going back to them.

Those are the years for us to remember in the future—those fool's paradise years before the crash came. Too much do we harp on the years that followed, when from 1929 to 1933 this whole Nation slipped spirally downward—ever downward—to the inevitable point when the mechanics of civilization came to a dead stop on March 3, 1933.

You and I need not rehearse the four years of disaster and gloom. We know the simple fact that at the end of those four years America acted before it was too late. America turned about, and by a supreme, well-nigh unanimous national effort, started on the upward path again.

You and I have reason to remember the past two and a half years that have gone by so quickly, reason to remember the fine spirit of the average American citizen which made my task vastly lighter. Memory is short, but yours is not too short to recollect those great meetings of the representatives of the farmers, re-

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gionally and in Washington, in the spring and summer of 1933, when they agreed overwhelmingly that unfairly low prices for farm crops could never be raised to, and maintained at, a reasonable level until and unless the Government of the United States acted to help them to reduce the tremendous carryovers and surpluses which threatened us and the whole world.

You and I can well remember the overwhelming demand that the national Government come to the rescue of the home owners and farm owners of the Nation who were losing the roofs over their heads through inflated valuations and exorbitant rates of interest.

You and I still recollect the need for and the successful attainment of a banking policy which not only opened the closed banks but guaranteed the deposits of the depositors of the Nation.

You and I have not forgotten the enthusiastic support that succeeded in ending the labor of children in mills and factories, in seeking a fairer wage level for those on starvation pay, and in giving to the workers hope for the right collectively to bargain with their employers. That success, I am glad to say, in large part still persists.

You and I will not forget the long struggle to put an end to the indiscriminate distribution of "fly-by-night" securities, and to provide fair regulation of the stock exchanges and of the great interstate public utility companies of our country.

You and I — yes, every individual and every family in the land — are being brought close to that supreme achievement of this great Congress, the Social Security law which, in days to come, will provide the aged against distressing want, will set up a national system of insurance for the unemployed, and will extend well-merited care to sick and crippled children.

You and I are enlisted today in a great crusade in every part of the land to cooperate with Nature and not to fight her, to cooperate to stop destructive floods, to prevent dust storms, to prevent the washing away of our precious soils, to grow trees, to give thousands of farm families a chance to live, and to seek to provide more and better food for the city dwellers of the Nation.

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In this connection it is, I think, of interest to point out that national surveys which have been conducted in the past year or two prove that the average of the citizenship of the United States lives today on what the doctors would call a third-class diet. If the country lived on a second-class diet instead of a third-class diet, do you know what that would mean? It would mean we would need to put many more acres than we use today back into the production of foodstuffs for domestic consumption. If the Nation lived—as I wish it did—on a first-class diet, we would have to put more acres than we have ever cultivated into the production of an additional supply of things for Americans to eat.

That raises a question:

Why—to speak in broad terms in following up this particular illustration—why are we living on a third-class diet? Well, the best answer I know is this: The masses of the American people have not the purchasing power to eat more and better food.

I mentioned a few weeks ago that farm income in the United States has risen since 1932 a total of nearly three billion dollars. That is because wheat is selling at better than 90 cents instead of 32 cents; corn is selling at 50 cents instead of 12 cents; cotton is at 12 cents instead of $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents, and other crops are in proportion. I wonder what cotton would be selling at today if during these past three years we had continued to produce fifteen or sixteen or seventeen million bales each year, adding to our own surplus, adding to the world surplus, and driving the cotton farmers of the Southland into bankruptcy and starvation. What does this additional three billions of farmers' income mean to the country? What does it mean to the dwellers in the city? It has meant the rebirth of city business, the reopening of closed factories, the doubling of automobile production, the improvement of transportation and the giving of new employment to millions of Americans.

That brings us squarely face to face with the fact of the continued unemployment of many millions of people of whom approximately three and a half million are employables in need of relief. When some of the people of a great and wealthy country are suffering from starvation, I take it that no honest Govern-

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ment has a choice. Over three years ago, realizing in the beginning that we were not doing a perfect thing but that we were doing a necessary, saving and human thing, we appropriated money for direct relief. That was necessary, as you and I know, to ward off actual starvation. But, just as quickly as possible, we turned to the job of providing actual work for those in need.

I can realize that gentlemen in well-warmed and well-stocked clubs will discourse on the expenses of Government and the suffering that they are going through because their Government is spending money for work relief. I wish I could take some of these men out on the battle-line of human necessity, and show them the facts that we in the Government are facing. If these more fortunate Americans will come with me, I will not only show them the necessity for the expenditures of this Government, but I will show them, as well, the definite and beneficial results we have attained with the dollars we have spent. Some of these same gentlemen tell me that a dole would be more economical than work relief. That is true. But the men who tell me that have, unfortunately, too little contact with the true America to realize that in this business of relief we are dealing with properly self-respecting Americans to whom a mere dole outrages every instinct of individual independence. Most Americans want to give something for what they get. That something, which in this case is honest work, is the saving barrier between them and moral disintegration. I propose to build that barrier high and keep it high.

Let me talk some more about money.

Last April I stated to the Congress what I have held to consistently ever since—that it was the hope of the Administration that by some time in November of this year we would substantially end the dole, and offer in place of it employment to, by far, the greater part of the three and a half million employable persons we estimated were on relief rolls in the United States.

Week after week, from that time on, some individuals and some organizations and some groups, careless of the truth, regardless of scruple, have sought to make the American people believe that

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this program was a hopeless failure and that it could not possibly succeed.

Today is the twenty-ninth day of November. It gives me a certain satisfaction to be able to inform you, and through you the Nation, that on Wednesday, two days ago by actual figures, there were three million one hundred and twenty-five thousand persons at work on a great variety of useful projects in every State of the Union. The small remaining number have received orders to report to work on projects already under way or about to be started. That result, I believe you will agree with me, constitutes a substantial and successful national achievement.

Aside from the tremendous increase in morale through substituting work for a dole, there is the practical side of permanent material benefit. Within sight of us today, there stands a tribute to useful work under Government supervision—the first slum clearance and low-rent housing project. Here, at the request of the citizens of Atlanta, we have cleaned out nine square blocks of antiquated squalid dwellings, for years a detriment to this community. Today those hopeless old houses are gone and in their place we see the bright cheerful buildings of the Techwood Housing Project.

Within a very short time, people who never before could get a decent roof over their heads will live here in reasonable comfort amid healthful, worthwhile surroundings; others will find similar homes in Atlanta's second slum clearance project, the University Project; and still others will find similar opportunity in nearly all of the older, overcrowded cities of the United States.

I take it that it has been equally worthwhile to the Nation to give jobs to the unemployed in the construction of a vast network of highways, including thousands of miles of farm-to-market roads; in repairing great numbers of schools, and building hundreds of new schools in city and country; in helping cities to put in sewers and sewage disposal plants and water works; in constructing cold storage warehouses and county recreational buildings; in creating aviation fields; in giving a million boys a chance to go to C.C.C. camps and to work on forestry and soil erosion

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prevention; in controlling malaria; in pushing health projects; in putting white-collar workers into jobs of permanent usefulness to their communities, and, last but not least, in giving youth an opportunity for better education.

Into the ears of many of you has been dinned the cry that your Government is piling up an unconscionable and back-breaking debt. Let me tell you a simple story: In the spring of 1933, many of the great bankers of the United States flocked to Washington. They were there to get the help of their Government in saving their banks from insolvency. To them I pointed out, in all fairness, the simple fact that you could not make bread without flour, the simple fact that the Government would be compelled to go heavily into debt for a few years to come, in order to save banks and save insurance companies and mortgage companies, and railroads, and to take care of millions of people who were on the verge of starvation. Every one of these gentlemen expressed to me at that time the firm conviction that it was all well worth the price and that they heartily approved.

But I did not stop there. In order to get their further judgment, I asked them what they thought the maximum national debt of the United States Government could rise to without serious danger to the national credit. Their answers — remember this was in the spring of 1933 — were that the country could safely stand a national debt of between fifty-five and seventy billion dollars. I told them that a rise in the national debt to any such figure was, in my judgment, wholly unnecessary, and that even if they, the bankers, were willing I could not and would not go along with them. I told them then that only a moderate increase in the debt for the next few years seemed likely and justified. That objective holds good today; but remember that at that time many bankers and big business men would have been willing to put the country far deeper into debt than I shall ever let it go.

And by way of parenthesis, if the bankers thought the country could stand a debt of fifty-five to seventy billion dollars in 1933, with values as they were then, I wonder what they would say the

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country could stand today, in the light of an enormous increase of values of property of all kinds all along the line since 1933.

Let us make one thing clear. Your Government says to you: "You cannot borrow your way out of debt; but you can invest your way into a sounder future."

As a matter of actual fact, the gross national debt under the last Administration rose from a little over seventeen billions to twenty-one billions. The day I came into office I found that the national Treasury contained only \$158,000,000, or, at the rate of previously authorized expenditures under the last Administration, I found enough money in the Treasury to last less than a month. Since that time, March 4, 1933, the national debt has risen—of course it has risen, and you know why—from 21 billions to 29½ billions; but it must also be remembered that today, included in this figure there is nearly 11½ billions of working balance in the Treasury of the United States and nearly 4½ billion dollars of recoverable assets which the Government is going to get back over a period of years, and as we get it back we are going to retire the national debt with it.

As things stand today, in the light of a definite and continuing economic improvement, we have passed the peak of appropriations; revenues without the imposition of new taxes are increasing, and we can look forward with assurance to a decreasing deficit. The credit of the Government is today higher than that of any other great Nation in the world. It is higher in spite of attacks on that credit made by those few individuals and organizations which seek to dictate to the Administration and to the Congress how to run the national Treasury and how to let the needy starve.

Back in that same spring of 1933, if you and I had made a national balance sheet—I mean a balance sheet based on what the individual people of the country owned and owed—we would have found that if we had added up the values of all of the property of every kind in the United States, the total of those values, which you and I would call assets, would have been greatly exceeded by the figure representing the total of all the debts owed

To the American Foundation for the Blind

by the people of the United States. In other words, in March, 1933, our national balance sheet, the wealth on the one side against the debts of the American public, showed that we were in the red. Today, two and a half years later, it is a fact that the total of all the debts in the United States is lower than it was then; and on the other side of the picture, you and I know that the values of property of all kinds—farms, houses, automobiles, securities and every other kind of property—have increased so greatly since 1933, that today we are once more in the black. We were insolvent then. Today we are solvent, and we are going to stay so.

In this fact, especially as we are gathered here today at a time of national Thanksgiving, all of us can rightly find a deep satisfaction. But recovery means something more than getting the country back into the black. You and I do not want just to go back to the past. We want to face the future in the belief that human beings can enjoy more of the good things of life, under better conditions, than human beings ever enjoyed in the past. American life has improved in these two years and a half, and if I have anything to do with it, it is going to improve more in the days to come. The word “progress” is a better word than “recovery,” because progress means not only a sound business and a sound agriculture, sound from the material point of view, but it means, with equal importance, a sound improvement in American life as a result of continuing and forceful effort on the part of the people of our Nation and, through them, on the part of the Government of the Nation. I am certain, my friends, that that is your purpose. You have my assurance that it is mine. That is why I continue my confidence, my faith, everlasting faith, in the people of America.

174 ¶ Telephoned Greetings to the American Foundation for the Blind. December 5, 1935

I AM very glad to send my greetings to you, the friends of the American Foundation for the Blind, in the dedication of the new

To Orthopedic Surgeons

Administration Building in New York. I would like to be with you but, as you know, I am a thousand miles away, down in Georgia.

I wish I could be present at the dedication of this new building that means so much in the carrying out of the great work in which we are all so much interested.

It is a privilege to have a part in aiding the betterment of conditions for those who have been handicapped by lack of vision and, when I say lack of vision, I mean it in the purely physical sense because people who are blind certainly have a splendid vision in every other way.

Personally, I am proud of my association with Miss Keller, with President Migel and Robert Owen and all the rest of you who are giving so freely of your time and talents.

You have my sincere congratulations and a pledge to do all I can in furthering this great philanthropy.

175 ¶ Informal Extemporaneous Remarks to
Orthopedic Surgeons, Warm Springs, Georgia.
December 7, 1935

I WISH you had seen this building ten years ago. It was a perfectly good down-at-the-heel summer resort and nothing else.

Did you ever hear the story of how the first patients came down here? In the summer or spring before I came down my doctor had told me that he was finding that his patients who were swimming in Long Island Sound and in places where they could stay in the water a longer time, were showing a little more improvement than those who went up further North in places where they could not swim for long periods on account of the cold water. He told me that he was going to try the effect of exercising in warm water.

Well, he went abroad and died on the other side that summer. That fall I heard about Warm Springs. I heard some very

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good reports about it, and I thought I would try it out and at least come down for a rest. I found that I could move about and exercise a good deal better in this water than any other place.

The following spring a couple of newspaper men came down here from Atlanta; and they wanted a political story. One of them wrote a special feature story that went all through the country, in the Sunday papers. It was headed, "Annette Kellerman and Franklin Roosevelt swim their way back to health." Within two weeks they began to arrive. Twenty-one Polio cases came down; but there wasn't a doctor—there wasn't anything down here. The place wasn't open in the spring of 1925. We were all upset by it. At the time the place was run by a Georgia editor, Tom Loyless. It was in an awful condition.

In the following spring, 1926, the Orthopedic Association met in Atlanta. Dr. Hoke was President that year and I went up there; and I asked their permission to suggest the appointment of an advisory committee. As a result of the appointment of that Advisory Committee, we started to experiment down here in the summer.

We did not know much; we did not know how to go about the thing. So we got Dr. Hubbard to come down here, and also one physio-therapist.

Well, we ran that experiment in the summer of 1926. It was terribly crowded. All we could do was to check on nourishment, and do a certain amount of plaster-cast work. From that time on, which is somewhat less than ten years ago, see what has happened!

But the important point is that people all over the country know about what we are doing and are following our example in their own communities. My whole objective was to make the country as conscious about Polio as it is about T.B. Everything that you people can do and have done to help spread the gospel is all right.

176 ¶ Presidential Letter Read at the London Naval Conference. December 9, 1935

IN ASKING you to return to London to continue and expand the conversations begun last June, preparatory to the naval conference in 1935, I am fully aware of the gravity of the problems before you and your British and Japanese colleagues. The object of next year's conference is "to frame a new treaty to replace and carry out the purposes of the present treaty."

The purposes themselves are "to prevent the dangers and to reduce the burdens inherent in competitive armament" and "to carry forward the work begun by the Washington naval conference and to facilitate progressive realization of general limitation and reduction of armament."

The Washington naval conference of 1922 brought to the world the first important voluntary agreement for limitation and reduction of armament. It stands out as a milestone in civilization.

It was supplemented by the London naval treaty of 1930, which recognized the underlying thought that the good work begun should be progressive—in other words, that further limitation and reduction should be sought.

Today the United States adheres to that goal. That must be our first consideration.

The Washington and London treaties were not mere mathematical formulae. The limitations fixed on the relative naval forces were based on the comparative defensive needs of the powers concerned; they did not involve the sacrifice of any vital interests on the part of their participants; they left the relative security of the great naval powers unimpaired.

The abandonment of these treaties would throw the principle of relative security wholly out of balance; it would result in competitive naval building, the consequence of which no one can foretell.

I ask you, therefore, at the first opportunity to propose to the

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British and Japanese a substantial proportional reduction in the present naval levels. I suggest a total tonnage reduction of 20 percent below existing treaty tonnage. If it is not possible to agree on this percentage, please seek from the British and Japanese a lesser reduction—15 percent or 10 percent or 5 percent. The United States must adhere to the high purpose of progressive reduction. It will be a heartening thing to the people of the world if you and your colleagues can attain this end.

Only if all else fails should you seek to secure agreement providing for the maintenance and extension of existing treaties over as long a period as possible.

I am compelled to make one other point clear. I cannot approve, nor would I be willing to submit to the Senate of the United States, any new treaty calling for larger navies. Governments impelled by common sense and the good of humanity ought to seek treaties reducing armaments; they have no right to seek treaties increasing armaments.

Excessive armaments are in themselves conducive to those fears and suspicions which breed war. Competition in armament is a still greater menace. The world would rightly reproach Great Britain, Japan and the United States if we moved against the current of progressive thought. We three Nations, the principal naval powers, have nothing to fear from one another. We cannot escape our responsibilities, joint and several, for world peace and recovery.

I am convinced that if the basic principle of continued naval limitation with progressive reduction can be adhered to this year and next, the technicalities of ship tonnage, of ship classes, of gun calibers and of other weapons, can be solved by friendly conference.

I earnestly hope that France and Italy, which are full parties to the Washington treaty, will see their way to participate fully in our efforts to achieve further naval limitation and reduction.

The important matter to keep constantly before your eyes is the principle of reduction—the maintenance of one of the greatest achievements of friendly relations between Nations.

Distinguished Service in the Interest of Agriculture

NOTE: The foregoing letter was written by me on October 5, 1934, to Hon. Norman Davis, who was Chairman of the United States delegation to the Naval Conference at London, on the occasion of his sailing for London to participate in preliminary conversations among the United Kingdom, Japan and the United States. It was read by Mr. Davis on December 9, 1935, at the Naval Conference.

177 ¶ Address on the Occasion of Receiving the
1935 Award for Distinguished Service in the
Interest of Agriculture, Chicago, Illinois.

December 9, 1935

Mr. O'Neal, ladies and gentlemen:

IN ADDRESSING the farmers of the Nation, I reminded them that the economic life of the United States is a seamless web. That was a means of illustrating the great dependence of each economic unit in the Nation upon every other unit. Farm prosperity, as we know today, cannot exist without city prosperity, and certainly city prosperity cannot exist without farm prosperity. It is therefore especially appropriate for you, as representatives of the farmers of the Nation, to meet here in this great metropolis of the Middle West—here in Chicago where the interests of agriculture are interwoven with the interests of other industries serving the Nation's needs. Here is a common meeting ground of agriculture, transportation, industry and labor.

Only a few generations ago, interdependence between agriculture and industry was not in any way so great as it is today; but now your welfare depends in part on what you in the country do and in large part on what people do in the cities as well.

Your own experience of three and four years ago doubtless brings all of this vividly to your minds. Your sufferings—those sufferings of rural America—were not because you were not producing, for your granaries and storehouses were bursting with the

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products of your labor, but because things in city and country had both got out of balance, and purchasing power had declined to the point where people in the cities did not have the money to buy farm produce and people on the farms did not have the money to buy city products.

Two things at that time were especially clear. First, that because of almost unbelievably low prices for farm products, the growers of these products could not meet their indebtedness, could not pay their taxes and could not meet the living expenses of their families. The other thing was that in most major crops a constantly accumulating surplus had reached such absurdly high levels that crop price levels could not possibly rise until something was done to cut down to a reasonable level the bulging surplus which overhung the market.

For these reasons, the recovery program that this Administration proposed and that Congress enacted was a many-sided one. The Administration and the Congress that took office in March, 1933, recognized that the emergency they faced came from many causes and endangered the life of many groups. Consequently, it put the power of Government and the resources of Government behind not only railroads and banks, but the industrial workers of the Nation, the farmers, the small home owners, the unemployed, and the young people who suffered from utter lack of opportunity. It was a great emergency and it required swift action. You and I know that mistakes were inevitable because it was a new field.

It was also inevitable that time had to elapse before results were fully felt. When the many cells of our economic life were dying for lack of the blood of purchasing power, it took time, after fear had begun to subside, for new, vital purchasing power to be diffused once more. But that life is coming back—buoyant, happy life—we need no evidence beyond what we see and hear around us.

Justice and common sense demanded that in the building of purchasing power we start with agriculture. I knew enough of the problems of the men and women who were partners with the

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soil to realize the depth of their sufferings and the extent of their need back there in 1932 and early 1933. I knew the pangs of fear and moments of rejoicing that come to the farmer as the harvest frowns or smiles. And I realize the almost equally crushing sense of futility that comes to a farmer when, after months of toiling from morning to night, he reaps a bumper crop, only to see the price fall so low that it scarcely pays him to take his crop to market.

One of the greatest curses of American life has been speculation. I do not refer to the obvious speculation in stocks and bonds and land booms. You and I know that it is not inherently a good thing for individuals in any Nation to be able to make great fortunes by playing the market without the necessity of using much in the way either of toil or of brains. Their tools are not brains; they are a little capital and a good deal of luck.

The kind of speculation I am talking about is the involuntary speculation of the farmer when he puts his crops into the ground. How can it be healthy for a country to have the price of crops vary 300 and 500 and 700 percent, all in less than a generation? If you invest your savings or your capital in what you consider a wholly safe investment, which will conserve your principal so that you will still have that principal intact after ten years or twenty years or thirty years, you are naturally aghast if the value of that investment drops 50 percent. Equally, when you make the investment you do not expect the principal suddenly to increase 50 percent in value.

And yet many leaders in this country, not farm leaders, shrugged their shoulders and laughed it off when they saw cotton run up and down the scale between 4½ cents and 28 cents, wheat run up and down the scale between \$1.50 and 30 cents—corn, hogs, cattle, potatoes, rye, peaches—all of them fluctuating from month to month and from year to year, 300 percent, 500 percent, 700 percent, fluctuating in mad gyrations, which, of necessity, have left the growers of them speculators against their will. That is what we propose to end in America.

The measures to which we turned to stop the decline and rout

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of American agriculture originated in the aspirations of the farmers themselves, expressed through the several farm organizations. I turned to these organizations and took their counsel, and sought to help them to get these purposes embodied in the law of the land. What you wanted, and what you and I have endeavored to achieve, was to put an end to the destructive forces that were threatening American agriculture. We sought to stop the rule of tooth and claw that threw farmers into bankruptcy or turned them virtually into serfs, forced them to let their buildings, fences and machinery deteriorate, made them rob their soil of its God-given fertility, deprived their sons and daughters of a decent opportunity on the farm. To those days, I trust, the organized power of the Nation has put an end forever.

I say "the organized power of the Nation" advisedly, because you and I, as Americans who still believe in our Republican form of Constitutional Government, know, as a simple fact, that forty-eight separate sovereign States, acting each one as a separate unit, never were able and never will be able to legislate or to administer individual State laws which will adequately balance the agricultural life of a Nation so greatly dependent on nationally grown crops of many kinds.

As a first step, organized agriculture pointed out that it was necessary to bring agriculture into a fair degree of equality with other parts of our economic life. For so long as agriculture remained a dead weight on economic life, sooner or later the entire structure would crash, as it did in 1929.

We used for temporary guidance the idea of parity between farm prices and industrial prices. As you know, the figures that we used to determine the degree to which agricultural prices had fallen in relation to other prices were based upon the figures of 1909 to 1914. This was a fairly satisfactory way of measuring our efforts and our immediate objectives. Those five years, 1909 to 1914, preceding the beginning of the World War were years of fair prosperity in this country. They were the last years before the widespread disturbance, caused by the World War, took place in our economic life. And measured by the figures built upon this

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standard, the relative purchasing power of the farmers of America had fallen to less than 50 percent of normal in early 1933.

I promised to do what I could to remedy this, and without burdening you with unnecessary figures, let the record say that a relative purchasing power of below 50 percent has moved up today to better than 90 percent. As I have pointed out before, and as you know, this rise in farm prices has meant a very substantial improvement in the total of the farm income of the country. The best available figures show that it has increased nearly \$3,000,000,000 in the past two and one-half years.

This buying power has been felt in many lines of business; outstanding among these is the farm-equipment industry in which employment jumped from 27 percent of the average in October, 1932, to 116 percent in October, 1935. In the motor-car industry, which has found some of its best markets on farms and in small towns, over the same three years' span, employment has increased from 42 percent to 105 percent. These simple figures show how industrial employment in the cities has been benefited by the improvement in the farmer's condition. Let me assure you that you are not the only people who understand this. The city dwellers are beginning to understand it too.

Increasing payrolls in the farm equipment and automobile industries in turn are stimulating other lines. Only a few days ago I noted an item in the papers which I thought was a good illustration. It told of increased activity in the textile mills. One reason, said the newspaper account, was the demand for textiles in the manufacture of automobiles. There you have the complete chain. The cotton-growing South, with more money to spend, buys new automobiles. The automobile makers buy more cotton goods from manufacturers in the Northeast and the Southeast, and these manufacturers in turn go into the market for more cotton. Goods are moving again; and as goods are moving, so is money moving once more; and as it flows, millions of farm and city families are getting a bigger share of the national income.

I think it is safe to say that although prices for farm products show many increases over depression lows, the farm program as a

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whole, instead of burdening consumers as a group, has actually given them net benefits. There are individuals whose incomes have not risen in proportion to the rise in certain food prices; but at the same time the total net income of city dwellers is several billion dollars higher than it was in 1932. I think you will agree with me that bargain prices for food in 1932 were little consolation to people in cities with no income whatsoever.

Though food prices in the cities are not on the average as high as they were, for example, in 1928 or 1929, yet they are in many cases too high. It is difficult to explain in many cases why, if the farmer gets an increase for his food crop over what he got three years ago, the consumer in the city has to pay two and three and four times the amount of that increase. Lifting prices on the farm up to the level where the farmer and his family can live is opposed chiefly by the few who profited heavily from the depression. It is they and their henchmen who are doing their best to foment city people against the farmers and the farm program. It is that type of political profiteer, for example, who seeks to discredit the vote in favor of a continued corn-hog program, by comparing your desire for a fair price for the farmer to the appetite of hogs for corn.

Yet I know that the great masses of city people are fair-minded. They, like yourselves, suffered deeply from the depression, and I believe with all my heart that millions of these city people, struggling back toward better days, resent the attempts of political advantage-seekers and profiteers to heap ridicule upon the recovery efforts that all of us are making.

Some of the same type of individuals and groups are also trying to stir up the farm population of America against other phases of the broad recovery program. Dispensers of discord are saying that farmers have been victimized by the new Reciprocal Trade Agreement with Canada, and they are painting pictures of a great flood of imports of farm products rushing across the border. But, just as I am confident that the great masses of city people are fair-minded, so I am equally sure that the great majority of American farmers will be fair in their judgment of the new Trade Agree-

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ment. Let us put it this way: If the calamity howlers should happen to be right, you have every assurance that Canada and the United States will join in correcting inequalities, as good neighbors will do. But I, for one, do not believe for a single moment that the calamity howlers are right.

Agriculture, far from being crucified by this Agreement, as some have told you, actually gains from it. We export more agricultural products to Canada than we have imported from her. We shall continue to do so, for the very simple reason that the United States, with its larger area of agricultural land, its more varied climate, and its vastly greater population, produces far more of most agricultural products, including animal products, vegetables and fruits, than does Canada. In the case of the few reductions that have been made, quota limitations are set on the amount that may be brought in at the lower rates.

On the other side of the picture we believe, and most unbiased men believe, that the general increase in our trade with Canada, including the exports of our factories, will so add to the purchasing power of hundreds of thousands of wage earners, that they will be able to spend far more than they do today for the products of our own farms, our own forests and our own fisheries. Greater trade is merely another word for more production and more employment; and that statement ought to be understood in every farmhouse of the country. The proof of this particular pudding is in the eating; the best way to judge the new accord is to see how it works out. Analyze and remember the sources of the objections, analyze the motives of the objectors. Remember, too, the old saying, "It all depends on whose baby has the measles."

But the success that has attended, and is attending, our efforts to stem the depression and set the tide running the other way cannot blind us to the necessity of looking ahead to the permanent measures which are necessary to a more stable, economic life. We are regaining a more fair balance among the groups that constitute the Nation, and we must look to the factors that will make that balance stable.

The thing that we are all seeking is justice—justice in the

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common-sense interpretation of that word—the interpretation that means “Do unto your neighbors as you would be done by.” That interpretation means justice against exploitation on the part of those who do not care much for the lives, the happiness and the prosperity of their neighbors.

The Nation applauds the efforts of its agencies of Government to deal swiftly with kidnappers, gangsters and racketeers. That is justice.

The Nation applauds the efforts of its agencies of Government to save innocent victims from wildcat banking, from watered stocks, and from all other kinds of “confidence games.” That is justice.

The Nation applauds the efforts of Government to obtain and to maintain fair rewards for labor, whether it be the labor of the farmer or the labor of the factory worker or the labor of the white collar man. That is justice.

The Nation applauds efforts, through the agencies of Government, to give a greater social security to the aged and to unemployed, to improve the health of the Nation, and to create better opportunities for our young people. That, too, is justice.

In this quest for justice we have made progress. It is a lasting progress, lasting because the people of the Nation have learned more about effective cooperation in the past two and a half years than in the previous twenty-five years. We understand more than ever what the term “the seamless web” means. We seek to balance agriculture and to reach that objective we have made great strides. But in balancing agriculture we know that it must be in balance not alone with itself, but with industry and business as well—that the producing public must give consideration to the consuming public.

Year by year as we go on, many details, many problems, will need to be analyzed and solved. Agriculture and industry and business are in overwhelming majorities cooperating for a common justice as never before. In these present days we have seen and are seeing, not a re-birth of material prosperity alone; of greater significance to our national future is that spiritual re-

At the Saddle and Sirloin Club

awakening, that deeper thinking and understanding that has come to our land. We who strive to dispel the bitterness and the littleness of the few who still think and talk in terms of the old and utter selfishness, we are working toward the destruction of sectionalism, of class antagonism and of malice. We who strive for cooperation among all parts of our great population in every part of the Nation, we intend to win through to a better day.

We strive for the United States of America, and if we shall succeed, as by God's help we will, America will point the way toward a better world.

President O'Neal then bestowed the 1935 Award for distinguished service in the interest of organized agriculture on the President, who said, "That makes me very, very happy. I don't deserve it, but I am grateful to you. Thanks very much. It has been a grand day in my life."

178 ¶ Informal Extemporaneous Remarks at
the Saddle and Sirloin Club, Chicago, Illinois.
December 9, 1935

Mayor Kelly, Governor Horner, my friends:

IT WAS a very generous welcome you have given me. I have had a most delightful stay. I wish it were longer and that the train were not going in ten minutes, but if I had stayed longer the Postmaster General and I would have asked for just one more steak. One of my greatest responsibilities in Washington is looking after the figures of the members of the Cabinet.

I am glad the Mayor has spoken as he has about Chicago, but there is a great deal more he could have said. Chicago, more than almost any other city in the country, is a veritable crossroads—a place where all the elements of the Nation meet. The stockyards form one of the focal points of that crossroads. That is why the people of this great city have as good an opportunity as any people in the Nation to see a cross-section of the Nation. You see the

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industrial factors, the labor factors, the agricultural factors, the transportation factors.

As you know, we are trying to weld all those factors into a more unified whole. We are trying to prevent any one of them from growing at the expense of the other. We want all of them to grow in the same proportion, with that proportion based, of course, on the needs of the whole country.

Up to recently we were, in a large sense, a pioneering Nation, trying out many new fields of endeavor in virgin territory. That is why some of the things that are being attempted by Government—not just the Government in Washington, but also the State and city Governments—are concerned with new problems, new problems that have come with the rounding out of the Nation.

Suppose, to use a very simple example, that I am working personally on a problem which will affect Chicago. Down in Georgia I have a few acres of very cheap land and on that land I am trying to grow beef cattle. That is one of the things that show that we in this country are developing new lines of thought. Probably my beef cattle will never see Chicago but, to carry the illustration a little farther, think what has been done with cattle and hogs. Think of the livestock of the United States a hundred years ago. Stack up any of the beef cattle or any of the hogs of that period against the average run that you get in this city every day. We have shown over that period of years that we can round out cattle and hogs through unified national effort. We have improved the breed and we are continuing to improve the breed, not only of livestock but of human beings as well.

We are seeking to give certain advantages to a whole lot of people in this country who are underprivileged. And the simple way of describing what we—Government of all kinds throughout the country—are trying to do is that we are trying to help the underprivileged, because by helping them we know that we will also help those people who have more of the good things of life.

I am very proud of the people as a whole, regardless of party, though I suppose in a campaign year a lot of people will not think

Address at Notre Dame University

so. But it actually goes deeper than mere party; it goes down to some of the basic things that we in the greatest country in the world are trying to do for humanity. In doing it, in helping ourselves make our own country better, we are doing the only thing we can possibly do to help the rest of the world.

You and I know that we have no intention of getting mixed up in the wars of the rest of the world. About the only thing that is left for us to do is to set an example for them, with the hope that when they see the road we are traveling as a great Nation of 125 million people, they will stop their local and their international quarrels and squabbles, and take a leaf out of the notebook of the United States.

I want to tell you all again how happy I am to have been here today. These have been wonderful gatherings, both the one of the farmers and this one where I see so many distinguished citizens of this great city and great State.

I love to come to Chicago. I have been here, as you know, many times before, and I am coming back again very soon.

179 ¶ Address at Notre Dame University upon
Receiving an Honorary Degree.

December 9, 1935

Cardinal Mundelein, President O'Hara, you, the members of the great Notre Dame family, of whom I am proud and happy to become a part today:

IN ACKNOWLEDGING the honor which, through the granting of this Degree, the University of Notre Dame confers upon me, I wish first personally to thank your President, the Very Reverend John F. O'Hara, and all the members of your faculty. And I cannot, without feeling a little choke in my voice, thank my old friend, His Eminence, Cardinal Mundelein.

I deeply appreciate the honor and the accompanying citation. One in public life learns that personally he can never be worthy

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of the honors that come to him as an official of the United States Government. But it is equally true that I am most happy to be so honored. The honor places upon me an additional obligation to try to live up to the citation, both for the sake of my country and, also, as a new alumnus of the University of Notre Dame. I am especially happy to take part in this special convocation called to honor the new Commonwealth of the Philippines. And I am especially privileged to have heard that brilliant address of Mr. Romulo, who so well represents his Commonwealth.

It cannot seem so long because even I remember it; and yet it is almost forty years since the United States took over the sovereignty of the Philippine Islands. The acceptance of sovereignty was but an obligation to serve the people of the Philippines until the day they might themselves be independent and take their own place among the Nations of the world.

We are here to welcome the Commonwealth. I consider it one of the happiest events in my office as President of the United States, to have signed in the name of the United States the instrument which will give national freedom to the Philippine people.

The time is not given me to recite the history of these forty years. That history reveals one of the most extraordinary examples of national cooperation, national adjustment and national independence the world has ever witnessed. It is a tribute to the genius of the Philippine people. Subject to the Government of a country other than their own, they generously adjusted themselves to conditions often not to their liking; they patiently waited; they forfeited none of that essential freedom which is natively theirs as a people, a freedom which they have so definitely expressed with due regard for fundamental human rights in their new Constitution.

We have a clear right also to congratulate ourselves as a people because in the long run we have chosen the right course with respect to the Philippine Islands. Through our power we have not sought more power. Through our power we have sought to benefit others.

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That both Nations kept to the policy leading to this most happy event is due to the fact that both Nations have the deepest respect for the inalienable rights of man. These rights were specifically championed more than a century and a half ago in our own Declaration of Independence. And again they have been championed in the new Constitution of the Philippine Commonwealth, a Constitution which I would like to have read and learned in every school and college of the United States.

There can be no true national life either within a Nation itself, or between that Nation and other Nations, unless there be the specific acknowledgment of, and the support of organic law to, the rights of man. Supreme among those rights we, and now the Philippine Commonwealth, hold to be the rights of freedom of education and freedom of religious worship.

This university from which we send our welcome to the new Commonwealth exemplifies the principles of which I speak. Through the history of this great Middle West—its first explorers and first missionaries—Joliet, Marquette, La Salle, Hennepin—its lone eagle, Father Badin, who is buried here—its apostolic Father Sorin, founder of the University of Notre Dame—its zealous missionaries of other faiths—its pioneers of varied nationalities—all have contributed to the upbuilding of our country because all have subscribed to those fundamental principles of freedom—freedom of education, freedom of worship.

Long ago, George Mason, in the Virginia Declaration of Rights, voiced what has become one of the deepest convictions of the American people:

“Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience.”

In the conflict of policies and of political systems which the world today witnesses, the United States has held forth for its own guidance, and for the guidance of other Nations if they will accept it, this great torch of liberty of human thought, liberty of

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human conscience. We will never lower it. We will never permit, if we can help it, the light to grow dim. Rather through every means legitimately within our power and our office, we will seek to increase that light, that its rays may extend the farther; that its glory may be seen even from afar.

Every vindication of the sanctity of these rights at home, every prayer that other Nations may accept them, is an indication of how virile, how living, how permanent they are in the hearts of every true American.

Of their own initiative, by their own appreciation, the people of the Philippine Commonwealth have now also championed them before all the world. Through the favor of Divine Providence may they be blessed as a people with prosperity. May they grow in grace through their own Constitution to the peace and well-being of the whole world.

Let me say, as I leave you, that I am happy to be here today, that I am proud of the great distinction which you have conferred upon me, that I was more touched than anything else by the little word of the President of Notre Dame when he said that I will be in your prayers. I appreciate that. I trust that I may be in your prayers.

180 ¶ Informal Extemporaneous Remarks to State Superintendents of Education at the White House. December 11, 1935

I AM glad you are meeting down here. I am not going to make a speech to you. All I can tell you is that I have been trying to keep in touch with our educational problems. I got to know the State problems of education very well during four years up in Albany. I do think that we accomplished a great deal, but I know that we still have to go a long way. That applies not only to New York but to every other State. We have only scratched the surface.

I had a very nice luncheon the other day with the Superintend-

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ent of Schools of the State of Iowa; and we talked about some of our problems. Of course, one thing that has handicapped us and which has made it difficult to go ahead, as you realize, is that the work has recently been confined both by necessity and by law to relief. It has been on a relief basis. All appropriations which have been made have had that one single objective—relief.

However, I have stretched the law tremendously. I knew that the use of relief funds for the building of schoolhouses and the repair of schoolhouses, for instance, on which we have spent a great many millions of dollars all over the country, would help the physical side. But, I frankly did stretch the law when it came to some other things, such as the employment of teachers who are on the relief rolls, although that was a perfectly obvious thing to do. Helping boys and girls to attend high schools and colleges—that was stretching the law just a little bit. However, we took care of quite a number of them.

I would like to give you some of the figures to show what we have done. Forty-three thousand teachers were given work in the emergency education program. More than five hundred thousand men and women were taught reading and writing. As I said the other day, one of the things that a great Senator from Louisiana actually accomplished in the great State of Louisiana was teaching adults to read and write; and that was one reason for his very great popularity in his own State, which cannot be disputed.

Helping five hundred thousand people to read and write is something, but, again, it is only just scratching the surface. That is why, in planning for the future, I think we have all got to work out a mutual program.

Just a few more figures: In the school year 1933-34, there were fourteen and a half million dollars provided in thirteen States to keep the rural schools open, and in 1934-35, seven million dollars were provided in sixteen States.

And now we are going ahead with certain other things which Dr. Studebaker and I are trying to put in, as what might be called "entering wedges"—I think that is the easiest term to use. They are entering wedges and are comparatively small, so far as the

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total expenditure of money goes. But, looking at the problem as a whole, we are gradually working toward a greater national interest and understanding in the many things that the national Government can properly do.

Of course, we are trying to cut down the Budget—that is another problem. We are trying to keep the relief part of the Budget as low as we possibly can; but, in these entering wedges, we have started a general education program. I think we are going to go a long way. That is why I am asking you to be kind to me, and not to expect too much in a year.

I think we are going to get somewhere; and I hope very much that this conference you are having will bring, as far as possible, unanimity of thought and action in all the States looking toward a more permanent national policy.

We have made great strides in the past two and a half years in raising the prices of crops, in saving people from bankruptcy, and in opening the banks; but the biggest stride we have made in the past two and a half years has been in interesting the American people in their own Government. I think we have gone further in the past two and a half years than in the last twenty-five years in getting people to understand their Government problems—their social problems and their educational problems. But we cannot go faster than a certain speed, and that is why I am going to ask you people to cooperate and not push too fast.

(The President of the State Superintendents of Education then expressed thanks to the President for his courtesy, and assured the President that he could depend on their cooperation. To this, the President replied:)

That is very good of you. I feel very bad about education in one way because the depression hit education in the United States more than anything else, and because it is hard to bring back the facilities in education as quickly or as easily as it is to raise farm prices or open banks.

As you know, I am acquainted with the educational situation not only in the State of New York, but in the State of Georgia as well. The problem of the State of Georgia, for example, is the

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lack of taxable values. It cannot raise money for schools because the land values are not there. That is one of the problems not only in Georgia, but in a great many other sections of the country. Under such circumstances you cannot get better physical conditions in the schools or better trained teaching staffs.

I always remember the first year I was in Georgia. One day, as I sat on the porch of the cottage in which I lived, a boy came over very nervously and shyly and said, "Mr. Roosevelt, may I speak to you for a moment? We are having a commencement at our school on Wednesday. Do you think you could come over and say a few words and give out the diplomas?"

I said, "Certainly, I will be glad to come. Are you the President of the graduating class?"

He said, "No, sir; I am the principal of the school."

I said, "How old are you?"

"I am nineteen."

I said, "You are nineteen and principal of the school? How many children are there?"

He said, "About two hundred and forty children."

I said, "Have you been to college?"

He said, "Yes, sir; I finished my freshman year at the University of Georgia."

I said, "How are you getting along?"

He said, "I am taking the year out so that I can get enough to go back next year, and I will be a sophomore."

I said, "What pay are you getting?"

"I am getting good pay, four hundred and twenty-five dollars."

That is a pretty pathetic story when you come right down to it. It is a pretty tough game.

New Agricultural Building at Tuskegee Institute

181 ¶ Presidential Statement on New Agricultural Building at Tuskegee Institute.

December 14, 1935

AGRICULTURE is and probably will continue to be the chief source of income for the South. The success of Southern agriculture is dependent in great part upon the industry, intelligence and thrift of the Negro farmers. It seems especially wise, therefore, that the white people of the South should provide for the erection of an agricultural building on the campus of Tuskegee Institute as an endorsement of the splendid work being done there in the teaching of scientific agriculture.

The success of the programs now being launched by the Federal Government for the rehabilitation of agriculture depends upon the program of education which must go hand in hand with any new development.

As an adopted citizen of the South I have great faith in Tuskegee.

182 ¶ A Letter on the North American Wildlife Conference Called by the President.

December 20, 1935

My dear Mr. Silcox:

CONSERVATION of our remaining natural resources through use is vital to the social and economic welfare of the Nation. Despite real progress in conservation of such resources as minerals, forage, forests, and the soil itself, much remains to be accomplished. This is particularly true with respect to the restoration of wildlife.

I have, therefore, called a North American Wildlife Conference, to be held in Washington on February 3d to 7th, next

North American Wildlife Conference

and have asked you to serve as its Chairman. You have accepted. This letter will confirm your appointment.

My purpose is to bring together individuals, organizations, and agencies interested in the restoration and conservation of wildlife resources. My hope is that through this conference new cooperation between public and private interests, and between Canada, Mexico, and this country, will be developed; that from it will come constructive proposals for concrete action; that through those proposals existing State and Federal governmental agencies and conservation groups can work cooperatively for the common good.

I am asking you to extend on my behalf an invitation to the various Governors, for it is my earnest hope that each of them or his personal representative may attend this conference. And I trust you will arrange through proper channels for the appointment in each State, by wildlife and allied organizations, of delegates not to exceed in number twice the number which each individual State has as members of the Congress.

It is also my thought that there should be a citizens' committee, composed of outstanding leaders in the field of conservation, to assist you in planning an agenda which might perhaps include such matters as uses of forest, forage, soil and water in relation to conservation of wildlife.

A North American Wildlife Conference is, as you know, a logical outcome of the work of the National Resources Board within the wildlife field.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable F. A. Silcox,
Chief, Forest Service,
Department of Agriculture,
Washington, D. C.

NOTE: On February 3, 1936, I (see Item 19, Vol. V). The reader sent a message to the North American Wildlife Conference, which is also referred to my Press Conference on this subject, printed as Item 183, this volume. convened pursuant to this letter

183 ¶ The Two Hundred and Fifty-eighth Press Conference (Excerpts). December 20, 1935

(North American Wildlife Conference.)

THE PRESIDENT: We are calling a North American Wildlife Conference February 3-7, to be held in Washington, the purpose being to bring together all interested organizations, agencies, and individuals in behalf of restoration and conservation of land, water, forest, and wildlife resources. The conference will be under the direction of a citizens' committee which I shall appoint under the chairmanship of Mr. F. A. Silcox, Chief Forester. The Governors of the various States, or persons designated by them, will be invited; and in addition every State will be asked to send twice as many delegates as it has Senators and Representatives; so there will be a total of 530 times 2 — about 1,060. The delegates from the States will be selected at meetings of the various conservation organizations within each State, leaving it to each State to determine the details of the method.

At the general meetings each day—separate meetings of scientists and technicians in each field involved—they will discuss restoration of the rapidly vanishing wildlife of the continent, which involves also soil erosion, restoration of impounded water, and pollution control; also a better utilization of the public domain, worthless lands, national parks, forests, et cetera. They will adopt a program and make definite recommendations as to methods of closer cooperation between interested groups, individuals and Government agencies. The final objective is restoration and conservation of national land, forests, and wildlife resources.

Q. Is that the result of Ding's agitation?

THE PRESIDENT: Partly the result of the tremendous impetus that he gave to the whole subject.

Q. Mr. President, do you plan to ask the representatives of any foreign countries in on that?

National Recovery Administration Terminated

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know; I can't answer that definitely. Probably they will seek to have some there from Canada and Mexico.

Q. I was wondering, because they call it the North American Conference.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Is it to be assumed that you will address this opening meeting?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think so. We shall probably have a small group come in here.

Q. Will Mr. Hopkins be in on that? There have been some complaints from *Field and Stream* and other interested magazines that there was a lack of cooperation between Ding's bureau and Hopkins' organization; that Hopkins' mosquito-control section goes into places where it isn't necessary and wipes out a lot of wild-fowl food. I wondered if it would be an attempt to get those fellows together.

THE PRESIDENT: I suppose so.

Q. Is the Weather Bureau involved in this also?

THE PRESIDENT: Only very, very indirectly.

Q. Will they be likely to recommend legislation?

THE PRESIDENT: I doubt it. They already have that.

184 ¶ The National Recovery Administration Is Terminated. Executive Order No. 7252. December 21, 1935

BY VIRTUE of and pursuant to the authority vested in me by Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act (48 Stat. 195), as amended by Senate Joint Resolution 113, approved June 14, 1935, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. The National Recovery Administration and the office of Administrator thereof are hereby terminated.

2. The Division of Review, the Division of Business Cooperation, and the Advisory Council, as constituted by Executive Order

National Recovery Administration Terminated

No. 7075 of June 15, 1935, together with all of their officers and employees, files, records, equipment, and property of every kind, are hereby transferred to the Department of Commerce. The Secretary of Commerce is authorized and directed, under the general direction of the President, to appoint, employ, discharge, and fix the compensation and define the duties and direct the conduct of all officers and employees engaged in the administration of the agencies transferred by this Order to the Department of Commerce, to exercise and perform in connection with the said agencies the functions and duties now exercised and performed, or authorized to be exercised and performed, by the National Recovery Administration, to report to the President on all matters relating thereto, and to terminate the functions and duties of the said agencies not later than April 1, 1936.

3. The Consumers' Division, established within the National Recovery Administration by Executive Order No. 7120 of July 30, 1935, together with all of its officers and employees, files, records, equipment, and property of every kind, is hereby transferred to the Department of Labor. The Secretary of Labor is authorized and directed, under the general direction of the President, to appoint, employ, discharge, and fix the compensation and define the duties and direct the conduct of all officers and employees as may be engaged in the administration of the said Consumers' Division, to exercise and perform in connection with said Consumers' Division the functions and duties now exercised and performed, or authorized to be exercised and performed, by the National Recovery Administration, and to report to the President on all matters relating thereto.

4. No person transferred by this Order shall by such transfer acquire a civil service status. Any new appointments under this Order may be made without regard to the Civil Service Rules and Regulations.

5. All Orders and Regulations heretofore issued concerning the administration of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act, as amended, are hereby modified to the extent necessary to make this Order fully effective.

A Christmas Greeting to the Nation

6. This Order shall become effective on January 1, 1936.

NOTE: The work of liquidation and transfer of personnel under Executive Order No. 7075, of June 15, 1935 (see Item 78A, this volume), had by this time been practically completed, as had been the preliminary exploration of the possibilities for further progress under voluntary agreements within the scope of the anti-trust laws.

Executive Order No. 7193, of September 26, 1935, continued the inquiry into possibilities of industrial cooperation under a new officer, the Coordinator for Industrial Cooperation. At the same time, the duty and authority to consider possible voluntary agreements under Section 4-A of the Act, as amended, within the limitations of the anti-trust laws, was, by another Order, transferred to the Federal Trade Commission.

The foregoing Executive Order terminated the existence of the

N.R.A. and transferred such of its functions as remained to be discharged to the Department of Commerce, with one exception. The exception was the Consumers' Division, which had been established within the N.R.A. and which was transferred to the Department of Labor.

On March 26, 1936, by Executive Order No. 7323, the Committee of Industrial Analysis within the Department of Commerce was created to complete the summary and analysis of the work of the National Recovery Administration. The program of review which had been previously undertaken had not been finished, and this Order was issued to assure the completion of the work so as to make certain that the information and lessons, to be derived from the experience of the N.R.A., would not be lost. (See Items 46 and 46A of Vol. V.)

185 ¶ A Christmas Greeting to the Nation.

December 24, 1935

ONCE more the most joyous of all days draws near and again it is my great privilege on this blessed Eve of the Nativity to wish the American people everywhere a Merry Christmas.

This is the third time that I have joined in these Christmas Eve festivities. We are gathered together in a typical American setting in the park here in front of the White House. Before me and around me is an American assemblage—men and women of all ages, youths and maidens, young children who know noth-

On the Death of James P. Hornaday

ing about the cares of life—all jubilant with joyous expectation.

The night is falling and the spirit of other days, too, broods over the scene. Andrew Jackson looks down upon us from his prancing steed; and the four corners of the square in which we are gathered around a gaily lit Christmas tree are guarded by the figures of intrepid leaders in the Revolutionary War—Von Steuben, the German; Kosciusko, the Pole; and Lafayette and Rochambeau from the shores of France.

This is in keeping with the universal spirit of the festival we are celebrating; for we who stand here among our guardians out of the past and from far shores are, I suppose, as diverse in blood and origin as are the uncounted millions throughout the land to whom these words go out tonight. But around the Manger of the Babe of Bethlehem “all Nations and kindreds and tongues” find unity. For the spirit of Christmas knows no race, no creed, no clime, no limitation of time or space.

The spirit of Christmas breathes an eternal message of peace and good-will to all men. We pause therefore on this Holy Night and, laying down the burdens and the cares of life and casting aside the anxieties of the common day, rejoice that nineteen hundred years ago, heralded by angels, there came into the world One whose message was of peace, who gave to all mankind a new commandment of love. In that message of love and of peace we find the true meaning of Christmas.

And so I greet you with the greeting of the Angels on that first Christmas at Bethlehem which, resounding through centuries, still rings out with its eternal message: “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will to men.”

186 ¶ Statement on the Death of James P. Hornaday, Dean of White House Correspondents.
December 25, 1935

I SHARE with his legion of friends the grief which the passing of James P. Hornaday has brought to all of us at this Christmas

Progress Made by the Negro Race

time. Dean of White House Correspondents, he had through long years faithfully chronicled national events, not less admired for his talents as a newspaperman than he was beloved because of the beauty and strength of his personal character. There was, there is, among Washington newspapermen no gentler, truer soul than Jim Hornaday. We shall long remember him, and miss him, and mourn him, and be thankful that we were permitted to know him and love him.

187 ¶ A Letter on the Progress Made by the
Negro Race since the Proclamation of Emancipa-
tion. December 26, 1935

My dear Mr. Allen:

Few events in our history are of greater significance than the freeing of the slaves. As we go back to the date when the Emancipation Proclamation was issued by the great Lincoln and come through the years, decade by decade, we are profoundly impressed by the steady progress which the Negro race has made since January 1, 1863.

It is truly remarkable, the things which the Negro people have accomplished within living memory—their progress in agriculture and industry, their achievements in the field of education, their contributions to the arts and sciences and, in general, to good citizenship.

It is my hope and belief that the Negro, inspired by the achievements of the race to date, will go forward to even greater things in the years to come. All of us should keep in mind the words of the immortal Lincoln—"In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve."

Very sincerely yours,

Cleveland G. Allen, Esq.,
New York, N. Y.

The Two Hundred and Sixtieth Press Conference

188 ¶ The Two Hundred and Sixtieth Press Conference, Held for Faculty Members of Several Schools of Journalism (Excerpts).

December 27, 1935

(Discussion of Press Conferences — Colored news stories — Control of news by newspaper owners.)

(Mr. Early introduced Mr. Frank L. Martin, President of the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism, and Mr. Kenneth E. Olsen, President, American Association of Teachers of Journalism. Mr. Martin is Dean of the School of Journalism in the University of Missouri. Mr. Martin and Mr. Olsen were called in ahead of the others.)

THE PRESIDENT: Glad to see you! Mr. Martin, will you and Mr. Olsen come and stand in behind the barrier and protect me? *(Laughter)* I thought we would treat this group just like any other Press Conference. All right, Gus!

(The main group was ushered in.)

How many of these people coming in are students?

MR. MARTIN: None; they are faculty members, and all of them, I think, have had years of newspaper experience.

THE PRESIDENT: Gather right around, right up to the desk, just like the press.

MR. MARTIN: All in, Sir!

THE PRESIDENT: I was just telling Dean Martin and Mr. Olsen I thought we would run this just as if it were a regular Press Conference. I asked Dean Martin and Mr. Olsen in here to protect me, the way Steve Early and Marvin McIntyre protect me at the regular press conferences. You came in rather slowly and diffidently; the regular conference come in very fast and noisily and crowd up just as close as they can get.

I am tremendously interested in the schools of journalism

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in this country. I think they are doing a very fine job. I understand nearly all of you have had a number of years' experience before taking up your teaching capacities.

Are there any questions you want to ask in regard to press conferences or otherwise? Of course this is off the record—like the regular press conferences! (*Laughter*)

Q. Mr. President, what about the press conferences?

THE PRESIDENT: I think it is a grand idea. I got my first training in the old Navy Department days. We had a press conference—the Secretary or the Acting Secretary—once or twice a day, which was quite a strain. . . .

I think press conferences are very helpful. Of course in Albany I carried on the same system. We had conferences there not always twice a day, but sometimes; here we have them twice a week—on Tuesday afternoon for the morning-paper people, and Friday morning for the afternoon-paper people. They ask all kinds of questions. I think it is very effective in straightening out a good deal in the way of misconception and lack of understanding that arise because of the infinite variety of new experiences in Washington.

MR. EARLY: You might tell them about the Canadian trade conference and the special conference.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, yes. Occasionally we have special conferences, such as when we explain the textbook. The textbook every year is the Budget; and at that time I have in the people primarily who are going to write the Budget stories—either the heads of bureaus here or the people who are interested in the financial picture. We go over the Budget message that is to go up to Congress the following day, and take it apart. Anybody can ask any question he wants about it.

Of course the Budget message is a terribly difficult thing to write a good accurate story about. The average of the newspaper profession knows less about dollars and cents—c-e-n-t-s—than almost any other profession—except possibly the clergy. That is the reason for a great many of these perfectly crazy, wild stories that come out of Washington about

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Government finances, though I am trying all I can to keep the accuracy of these financial stories on a little higher level.

Q. Don't you think the conference, as a whole, leads toward accuracy?

THE PRESIDENT: I think so, very much.

Q. Do you have any trouble at all with intentional violations?

THE PRESIDENT: Only from a very small percentage of the press. . . .

Q. You do have to give a certain amount of background material that is "off the record"?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Do these correspondents cause you quite a lot of trouble and put you "on the spot"?

THE PRESIDENT: A great deal! Then of course here is another thing: they get a lot of queries sent to them from their own desks. Some are perfect fool questions, but they have to present them in order to retain their jobs. They do not want to. And they may get quite a tart answer from me, but they have to do it. That is one of the great difficulties the average newspaper man labors under in this town and any other town — the orders from the desk. Of course the order from the desk isn't always the fault of the fellow who is running the desk; it nearly always traces back to the man who owns the paper.

Q. You haven't found it necessary, as some previous Administrations have done, to have the correspondents submit questions in writing?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I take "pot luck" on that. It works out, on the whole, very well and is rather stimulating.

I'll tell you another thing: I know when a question is either a "planted" question or a question that is sent to them from their editors; but taking it by and large, the run of my conference questions usually gives me a sense of public opinion — of how a subject is going to be treated. What they are looking for is perfectly legitimate stories.

A word as to the relative value of news: Sometimes I think a perfectly tremendous matter of very great importance is

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going to be the subject of the press conference, and I get ready. It is obvious to me that that is the news; and when the conference comes, nobody asks me about it! (*Laughter*)

Q. What is the relationship of your conferences in the White House to other department conferences, if any?

THE PRESIDENT: None at all. I do think the other departments have people that come in to check on what I have said, and then tell the chiefs of their own departments what I have said. There is a type of story which it is almost impossible to control—and yet I suppose it is because all the departments are readily accessible to the press and questioning—and that is the story which is built up on what the chief clerk in the Interior Department says to some newspaper friend; what the Assistant Secretary of Commerce says; what the Third Assistant Secretary of State says, et cetera.

A newspaper man down here will very often say, "I have to write a good story on such and such a policy." He goes around and collects a dab of information here and there and the other place, without any relation to each other. Having got all these dabs of information, he sits down and goes through a process of mental evolution. He says if this is so, that will follow, and something else will follow because there is a little suggestion of it in what somebody has said. The interesting thing is that things built up on that kind of background of information are nearly always wrong. It is not a good way to write a story. It is a case based on many individual premises that in most cases do not dovetail in the picture; and it lays us open to criticism. . . .

Q. If the newspapers desire information between conferences, they can get it from the Secretary?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, Steve (*Early, Secretary to the President*) is out there in the room next to theirs, and if anything comes up in the middle of a day, they ask Steve about it.

Then, there is one thing that is always a little difficult, and that is the people who come to call on me. A great many of them want to get publicity out of the call for themselves. It is

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perfectly natural. They come in. We may talk about the weather and glittering generalities and the individual's family and things like that; and then he goes out and announces to the boys outside — the press — that he has taken up such and such a new dam or irrigation system with me (*laughter*), which is of course immediately telegraphed back to his home district. (*Prolonged laughter*)

There is also the fellow who occasionally does misquote. Of course they are not supposed to quote at all, but that is a thing we have to take a chance on. . . .

THE PRESIDENT: You have a very great responsibility. There is one problem in journalism, as in law, in medicine, and in other professions, which one hesitates always to talk about in any profession. But as you are teaching youngsters I think it is fair to bring it before them — and that is this ethical question: How long should a man stay on a paper and, in order to retain his job, write things, under orders, he doesn't believe are true or that he thinks are unfair, personally? As I say, that is not a problem that is peculiar to journalism. Nevertheless, it is a problem, and it has been a constant problem down here. With a great many newspapers in this country, the tendency has been in the last, I would say, six or eight years, more than during the entire previous time that I have been in public life, to color news stories. That tendency has been growing; and I think it is a terribly dangerous thing for the future of journalism. . . .

There is a growing tendency on the part of the public not to believe what they read in a certain type of newspaper. I think it is not the editorial end, because, as you know, very few people read the editorials. . . .

Lack of confidence in the press today is not because of the editorials but because of the colored news stories and the failure on the part of some papers to print the news. Very often, as you know, they will kill a story if it is contrary to the policy of the owner of the paper. It is not the man at the desk

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in most cases. It is not the reporter. It goes back to the owner of the paper.

Q. You find that particularly true in politics and Government.

THE PRESIDENT: And many other things. Not only Government but I think a great many other matters, such as crime news.

Q. Is there any remedy?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know enough about it. (*Pause*) It is good to see you all.

(See also Note to Item 9 of Vol. II for further discussion of Press Conferences.)

Proclamations

The following is a complete list of the Proclamations and Executive Orders issued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt during his first term in office, with the date and subject of each. The full text of each Proclamation may be found in Part 2 of Volumes 48 and 49 of the United States Statutes for the 73d and 74th Congresses, respectively, for the appropriate years. Copies of the Executive Orders are on file at the Division of Federal Register, the National Archives, Washington, D. C. Some of these Proclamations and Executive Orders are printed in these *Papers* and may be found by reference to the index for the appropriate year.

2038	March 5, 1933	Convening the Congress in Extra Session
2039	March 6, 1933	Bank Holiday, March 6-9, 1933, Inclusive
2040	March 9, 1933	Continuing in Force the Bank Holiday Proclamation of March 6, 1933
2041	March 15, 1933	Appointing William H. Woodin Director General of Railroads
2042	March 15, 1933	Designating and Appointing William H. Woodin, Director General of Railroads, and his Successor in Office, as the Agent Provided for in Section 206 of the Act of Congress approved February 28, 1920
2043	March 31, 1933	Child Health Day (May 1, 1933)
2044	April 3, 1933	Decreasing Rates of Duty on Agricultural Hand Tools and Parts Thereof
2045	May 2, 1933	Mother's Day (May 14, 1933)
2046	May 20, 1933	National Maritime Day (May 22, 1933)
2047	June 12, 1933	Emergency Board, Kansas City Southern Railway Company, Texarkana and Fort Smith Railway Company, Arkansas Western Railway Company — Employees (Board created to investigate labor dispute)
2048	June 16, 1933	Immigration Quotas
2049	June 24, 1933	Decreasing Rate of Duty on Cotton Velveteens
2050	July 11, 1933	Pinnacles National Monument — California (lands added to)
2051	July 26, 1933	Emergency Board, Louisiana, Arkansas & Texas Railway Company — Employees (Board created to investigate labor dispute)
2052	August 10, 1933	Exemption of Virgin Islands from Coastwise Laws (from September 30, 1933, to September 30, 1934)
2053	August 18, 1933	Extending the Powers Granted to the Comptroller

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		of the Currency by the Joint Resolution of February 25, 1933, for a Period of Six Months (The joint resolution authorizes the Comptroller of the Currency to exercise, with respect to National Banking associations, any powers which State officials may have with respect to State banks, savings banks and/or trust companies under State laws)
2054	August 22, 1933	Cedar Breaks National Monument — Utah (establishment)
2055	August 22, 1933	Colonial National Monument — Virginia (boundaries enlarged, diminished, and revised)
2056	August 28, 1933	National Fire Prevention Week — 1933 (week beginning October 8, 1933)
2057	September 11, 1933	Amending Regulations on Migratory Game Birds
2058	September 29, 1933	Copyright — Palestine (Excluding Trans-Jordan) (extending benefits of Copyright Act)
2059	October 11, 1933	Armistice Day — 1933 (November 11, 1933)
2060	November 13, 1933	Nicolet National Forest — Wisconsin (modification of boundaries)
2061	November 13, 1933	Chequamegon National Forest — Wisconsin (establishment)
2062	November 21, 1933	Thanksgiving Day — 1933 (November 30, 1933)
2063	November 23, 1933	Emergency Board, Southern Pacific Lines (in Texas and Louisiana), Texas & New Orleans Railroad Company — Employees (Board created to investigate labor dispute)
2064	November 25, 1933	Emergency Board, Mobile & Ohio Railroad Company — Employees (Board created to investigate labor dispute)
2065	December 5, 1933	Date of Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment (December 5, 1933)
2066	December 14, 1933	Increasing Duty on Fishes Packed in Oil
2067	December 21, 1933	Coinage of Silver (under regulations of Secretary of Treasury, when mined from natural deposits in the United States or any place subject to jurisdiction thereof; deductions for seigniorage and for services relative to coinage and delivery provided)
2068	December 23, 1933	Granting Pardon to Persons Convicted of Certain Wartime Offenses
2069	December 30, 1933	Merchandise in Bonded Warehouse, Bonded Carpet Wool and Camel Hair, and Drawback Exportations (authorizing extension of period)
2070	December 30, 1933	Amending Proclamations of March 6 and March 9, 1933, and the Executive Order of March 10, 1933, and all Orders and Regulations Pursuant Thereto

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		(National Banking Holiday — excluding non-members of Federal Reserve System from scope)
2071	January 16, 1934	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — Suspension of Tonnage Dues
2072	January 31, 1934	(Fixing weight of the gold dollar)
2073	February 1, 1934	Emergency Board, Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad Company — Employees (Board created to investigate labor dispute)
2074	February 7, 1934	Appointing Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Director General of Railroads
2075	February 7, 1934	Designating and Appointing Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Director General of Railroads, as the Agent provided for in Section 206 of the Transportation Act, 1920
2076	February 16, 1934	Extending for One Year the Period within which Advances may be made under Section 10(B) of the Federal Reserve Act as Amended
2077	March 5, 1934	Emergency Board, Delaware and Hudson Railroad Corporation — Employees (Board created to investigate labor dispute)
2078	April 6, 1934	Child Health Day (May 1, 1934)
2079	April 7, 1934	Copyright — Free City of Danzig (extending benefits of Copyright Act)
2080	April 23, 1934	Decreasing Rates of Duty on Laminated Products
2081	May 1, 1934	Changing Duty on Canned Clams
2082	May 2, 1934	Extending for One Year the Effective Period of Title I of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933
2083	May 3, 1934	Mother's Day (May 13, 1934)
2084	May 4, 1934	National Maritime Day (May 22, 1934)
2085	May 9, 1934	Decreasing Rates of Duty on Sugar
2086	May 18, 1934	General Lafayette Memorial Day (May 20, 1934)
2087	May 28, 1934	Sales of Arms and Munitions of War to Bolivia and Paraguay
2088	June 5, 1934	Suspending the Provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act of March 3, 1931
2089	June 29, 1934	Exportation of Arms or Munitions of War to Cuba Unlawful
2090	June 30, 1934	Revocation of Proclamation No. 2088 of June 5, 1934, Suspending the Provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act of March 3, 1931
2091	June 30, 1934	Establishment of Separate Sugar-Processing Tax Funds for the Philippine Islands, Puerto Rico, The Territory of Hawaii, and the Virgin Islands
2092	August 9, 1934	(Directing that each United States mint shall re-

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		ceive for coinage or for addition to the monetary stocks of the United States any silver which such mint, subject to regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, is satisfied was situated on August 9, 1934, in the continental United States, including the Territory of Alaska)
2093	August 10, 1934	Emergency Due to Drought — Free Importation of Feed for Livestock
2094	August 20, 1934	Amending Regulations on Migratory Game Birds
2095	August 23, 1934	Copyright — Argentina (extending benefits of Copyright Act)
2096	August 29, 1934	Extending the Period for the Establishment of an Adequate Shipping Service for, and Deferring Extension of the Coastwise Laws to, the Virgin Islands (from September 30, 1934, to September 30, 1935)
2097	September 10, 1934	National Fire Prevention Week — 1934 (week beginning October 7, 1934)
2098	September 11, 1934	Extending the Provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act to the Philippine Islands in the case of Sugar Beets and Sugar Cane
2099	September 20, 1934	Pulaski Memorial Day (October 11, 1934)
2100	September 24, 1934	Amendment of Proclamation No. 2091, of June 30, 1934, Establishing Separate Sugar-Processing Tax Funds for the Philippine Islands, etc.
2100-A	September 25, 1934	Terminating certain Provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act with respect to Peanuts
2101	September 30, 1934	Columbus Day (October 12 of each year)
2102	October 10, 1934	Copyright — Spain (extending benefits of Copyright Act)
2103	October 15, 1934	Amendment of Proclamation No. 2091, of June 30, 1934, establishing separate Sugar-Processing Tax Funds for the Philippine Islands, Etc.
2104	October 15, 1934	Armistice Day — 1934 (November 11, 1934)
2105	October 22, 1934	Cherokee National Game Refuge No. 1 — Tennessee (establishment)
2106	November 8, 1934	Merchandise in Bonded Warehouse (authorizing extension of warehousing period for merchandise in warehouse imported on or before December 31, 1929)
2107	November 15, 1934	Thanksgiving Day — 1934 (November 29, 1934)
2108	November 28, 1934	White Sands National Monument — New Mexico (adding lands)
2109	December 21, 1934	Merchandise in Bonded Warehouse (authorizing

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		extension of warehousing period for merchandise in warehouse imported during the calendar year 1930)
2110	December 21, 1934	Merchandise in Bonded Warehouse (authorizing extension of warehousing period for merchandise in warehouse imported during the calendar year 1931)
2111	December 22, 1934	Merchandise in Bonded Warehouse (authorizing extension of warehousing period for merchandise in warehouse imported during the calendar year 1932)
2112	January 4, 1935	Fort Jefferson National Monument — Florida (establishment)
2113	January 7, 1935	Extending the Period for Furnishing Proof of Use in Manufacture of Bonded Wool and Camel Hair
2114	January 9, 1935	Fort Matanzas National Monument — Florida (lands added)
2115	January 16, 1935	Decreasing Rate of Duty on Ale, Porter, Stout, and Beer
2116	February 2, 1935	Amending Regulations on Migratory Game Birds
2117	February 14, 1935	Extending for Two Years the Period within which the Federal Reserve Board may authorize the Federal Reserve Banks to offer, and the Federal Reserve Agents to accept, Direct Obligations of the United States as Collateral Security for Federal Reserve Notes
2118	February 28, 1935	Making Effective with Respect to the Crop Year 1935-1936 the Provisions of the Cotton Control Act Approved April 21, 1934
2119	March 8, 1935	Ouachita National Game Refuges — Arkansas (establishment)
2120	March 11, 1935	Termination of the Existence of the National Longshoremen's Labor Board
2121	April 1, 1935	Extending the Period for Exportation of Merchandise for Drawback Purposes
2122	April 5, 1935	Addition to the Muir Woods National Monument — California
2123	April 10, 1935	Child Health Day (May 1, 1935)
2124	April 10, 1935	(Fixing deduction for seigniorage and services performed by United States mints in coining silver mined on or after April 10, 1935, at 45%)
2125	April 24, 1935	(Fixing deduction for seigniorage and services performed by United States mints in coining silver mined on or after April 24, 1935, at 40%)
2126	May 14, 1935	National Maritime Day (May 22, 1935)

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2127	June 7, 1935	Amendment of Proclamation No. 2091, of June 30, 1934 (As Amended by Proclamation No. 2100, of September 24, 1934), Establishing Separate Sugar-Processing Tax Funds for the Philippine Islands, etc.
2128	July 6, 1935	Big Levels Game Refuge — Virginia (establishment)
2129	July 18, 1935	Closed Area under the Migratory Bird Treaty Act — North Carolina (designation)
2130	July 30, 1935	Amending Regulations on Migratory Game Birds
2131	August 7, 1935	Establishment of Customs Enforcement Area No. 1
2132	August 27, 1935	Establishment of Customs Enforcement Area No. 2
2133	August 27, 1935	Amending Regulations on Migratory Game Birds
2134	September 10, 1935	General Pulaski Memorial Day (October 11, 1935)
2135	September 11, 1935	Leif Erikson Day (October 9, 1935)
2136	September 13, 1935	Extending the Period for the Establishment of an Adequate Shipping Service for, and Deferring Extension of the Coastwise Laws to, the Virgin Islands
2137	September 17, 1935	Fire Prevention Week — 1935 (week beginning October 6, 1935)
2138	September 25, 1935	Enumeration of Arms, Ammunition, and Implements of War
2139	September 26, 1935	Amending Regulations on Migratory Game Birds
2140	September 26, 1935	Air Navigation Week — 1935 (week beginning October 14, 1935)
2141	October 5, 1935	Export of Arms, Ammunition, and Implements of War to Ethiopia and Italy (categories prohibited)
2142	October 5, 1935	(Admonishing all citizens to abstain from traveling on any vessel of either of the belligerent nations — Ethiopia and Kingdom of Italy)
2143	October 14, 1935	Fremont National Forest — Oregon (revision of boundaries)
2144	October 25, 1935	Ozark National Game Refuge No. 5 — Arkansas (lands added)
2145	October 29, 1935	Armistice Day — 1935 (November 11, 1935)
2146	November 12, 1935	Thanksgiving Day — 1935 (November 28, 1935)
2147	November 14, 1935	Sale of Arms and Munitions to Bolivia and Paraguay (revocation of prohibition)
2148	November 14, 1935	The Commonwealth of the Philippines (announcement and proclamation of officers duly elected on September 17, 1935)
2149	December 7, 1935	Establishment of Customs Enforcement Area No. 3
2150	December 7, 1935	Establishment of Customs Enforcement Area No. 4
2151	December 7, 1935	Willamette National Forest — Oregon (lands added)

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2152	December 27, 1935	Establishment of Customs Enforcement Area No. 5
2153	January 10, 1936	Extending Powers Conferred by Section 10 of the Gold Reserve Act of 1934 and Section 43 of the Act Approved May 12, 1933 (for one additional year)
2154	January 11, 1936	Merchandise in Bonded Warehouse (authorizing extension of warehousing period)
2155	January 18, 1936	Extending the Period for Furnishing Proof of Use in Manufacture of Bonded Wool and Camel Hair
2156	January 18, 1936	Extending the Period for Exportation of Merchandise for Drawback Purposes
2157	January 23, 1936	Increasing Rate of Duty on Frozen Swordfish
2158	February 21, 1936	Increasing Duty on Wool Knit Gloves and Mittens
2159	February 29, 1936	Export of Arms, Ammunition, and Implements of War to Ethiopia and Italy (categories prohibited)
2160	March 5, 1936	Enlarging the Rocky Mountain National Park, Colorado
2161	March 19, 1936	Contributions to American Red Cross for Flood Relief
2162	April 3, 1936	Army Day (April 6, 1936)
2163	April 10, 1936	Enumeration of Arms, Ammunition, and Implements of War
2164	April 13, 1936	Child Health Day (May 1, 1936)
2165	April 21, 1936	Jefferson National Forest—Virginia (establishment)
2166	April 28, 1936	Monongahela National Forest—West Virginia (redefining boundaries)
2167	April 28, 1936	George Washington National Forest—Virginia and West Virginia (redefining boundaries)
2168	May 13, 1936	Ozark National Forest—Arkansas (lands added)
2169	May 13, 1936	Apalachicola National Forest—Florida (establishment)
2170	May 18, 1936	National Maritime Day (May 22, 1936)
2171	May 21, 1936	Increasing Rates of Duty on Cotton Cloth
2172	May 21, 1936	Emergency Board, Western Pacific Railroad Company, Sacramento Northern Railway, Tidewater Southern Railway—Employees (Board created to investigate labor dispute)
2173	June 3, 1936	Kisatchie National Forest—Louisiana (establishment)
2174	June 17, 1936	De Soto National Forest—Mississippi (establishment)
2175	June 15, 1936	Bienville National Forest—Mississippi (establishment)

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2176	June 15, 1936	Holly Springs National Forest — Mississippi (establishment)
2177	June 15, 1936	Katmai National Monument — Alaska (modifying former proclamations — making reservations subject to valid claims)
2178	June 19, 1936	Black Warrior National Forest — Alabama (establishment)
2179	June 20, 1936	Export of Arms, Ammunition, and Implements of War to Ethiopia and Italy (revocation of proclamation prohibiting export)
2180	June 20, 1936	Travel by American Citizens on Ethiopian and Italian Vessels (revocation of proclamation admonishing against such travel)
2181	July 1, 1936	Increasing Rate of Duty on Slide Fasteners
2182	July 6, 1936	Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial National Monument — Ohio (establishment)
2183	July 8, 1936	Cherokee National Forest — Tennessee (boundaries modified)
2184	July 9, 1936	Chattahoochee National Forest — Georgia (establishment)
2185	July 9, 1936	Nantahala National Forest — North Carolina (boundaries modified)
2186	July 10, 1936	Francis Marion National Forest — South Carolina (establishment)
2187	July 10, 1936	Pisgah National Forest — North Carolina (boundaries modified)
2188	July 13, 1936	Sumter National Forest — South Carolina (establishment)
2189	July 17, 1936	Conecuh National Forest — Alabama (establishment)
2190	July 17, 1936	Talladega National Forest — Alabama (establishment)
2191	July 20, 1936	Homochitto National Forest — Mississippi (establishment)
2192	July 29, 1936	Croatan National Forest — North Carolina (establishment)
2193	August 10, 1936	Joshua Tree National Monument — California (establishment)
2194	August 12, 1936	Amending Regulations on Migratory Game Birds
2195	September 2, 1936	Fire Prevention Week — 1936 (week beginning October 4, 1936)
2196	September 3, 1936	Gold Star Mother's Day (September 27, 1936)
2197	September 22, 1936	Columbus Day (October 12, 1936)
2198	September 26, 1936	General Pulaski Memorial Day (October 11, 1936)

Proclamations

2199	September 30, 1936	American Education Week (week beginning November 9, 1936)
2200	October 7, 1936	Closed Area Under the Migratory Bird Treaty Act, Montana (designation)
2201	October 12, 1936	Ouachita National Forest — Arkansas and Oklahoma (lands added)
2202	October 13, 1936	Angelina National Forest — Texas (establishment)
2203	October 13, 1936	Davy Crockett National Forest — Texas (establishment)
2204	October 13, 1936	Sabine National Forest — Texas (establishment)
2205	October 13, 1936	Sam Houston National Forest — Texas (establishment)
2206	October 14, 1936	Closed Area Under the Migratory Bird Treaty Act, Arkansas (designation)
2207	October 27, 1936	Armistice Day — 1936 (November 11, 1936)
2208	November 12, 1936	Thanksgiving Day — 1936 (November 26, 1936)
2209	November 16, 1936	(Invitation to foreign nations to participate in the New York World's Fair during the year 1939)
2210	November 16, 1936	(Invitation to foreign nations to participate in the San Francisco International Exposition during the year 1939)
2211	November 27, 1936	Wichita National Forest — Oklahoma (revocation of former proclamations establishing, etc.)
2212	December 23, 1936	Ocmulgee National Monument — Georgia (establishment)
2213	December 28, 1936	Superior National Forest — Minnesota (modification of boundaries)
2214	December 29, 1936	Merchandise in Bonded Warehouse (authorizing extension in warehousing period)
2215	December 29, 1936	Extending the Period for Exportation of Merchandise for Drawback Purposes
2216	December 29, 1936	Chippewa National Forest — Minnesota (modification of boundaries)
2217	December 30, 1936	Extending the Period for Furnishing Proof of Use in Manufacture of Bonded Wool and Camel Hair
2218	December 31, 1936	Chequamegon National Forest — Wisconsin (modification of boundaries)
2219	December 31, 1936	Nicolet National Forest — Wisconsin (modification of boundaries)
2220	January 11, 1937	Ottawa National Forest — Michigan (modification of boundaries)

Executive Orders

6071	March 8, 1933	Appointment of August A. Gennerich
6072	March 8, 1933	Transfer of Control and Jurisdiction of Certain Buildings at Cristobal to the Navy Department — Buildings Nos. 1113, 1409 and 1411
6073	March 10, 1933	Regulations Concerning the Operation of Banks (Reopening banks which are members of the Federal Reserve System and others organized under laws of United States, etc.)
6074	March 13, 1933	Amendment of Schedule A, subdivision VII, of the Civil Service Rules (appointing one executive assistant to the Postmaster General, one special assistant to the Postmaster General, one private secretary or confidential clerk to the Assistant Attorney General and one to the purchasing agent of the Post Office Department)
6075	March 15, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (Colorado)
6076	March 15, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (New Mexico)
6077	March 15, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (New Mexico)
6078	March 18, 1933	Designation of Mrs. Leafie E. Dietz to sign Land Patents
6079	March 18, 1933	Designation of Mrs. Helen V. McLeod to sign Land Patents
6080	March 18, 1933	Regulations Concerning Appointment of Conservators for State Banks, Members of Federal Reserve System
6081	March 24, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Land for Camp-ground purposes (California)
6082	March 25, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (Wyoming)
6083	March 25, 1933	Amendment of Schedule A of the Civil Service Rules (appointing one Secretary of the Federal Radio Commission)
6084	March 27, 1933	Reorganizing Agricultural Credit Agencies of the United States (and transferring certain functions to the Farm Credit Administration)
6085	March 28, 1933	Announcing the Index Figures for the Cost of Living for the Six Months' Periods Ending June 30, 1928, and December 31, 1932
6086	March 28, 1933	Rio Grande Wild Life Refuge (New Mexico)

Executive Orders

6087	March 28, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (Colorado)
6088	March 29, 1933	Exemption of Harry O. Bailey from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6089	March 31, 1933	Entitlement to Pensions (<i>Part I</i> , Pensions to Veterans and the Dependents of Veterans for Disability or Death Resulting from Active Military or Naval Service during the Spanish-American War, Boxer Rebellion, Philippine Insurrection, and/or the World War; <i>Part II</i> , Payment of Pension for Disability or Death Incurred during Peace Time Service; <i>Part III</i> , Payment of Pension for Disabilities or Death not the Result of Service)
6090	March 31, 1933	Effective Dates of Awards of Disability and Death Pensions; Provisions for Filing Claims and the Review of Claims on Appeal
6091	March 31, 1933	Veterans Regulation No. 3 (Schedule for Rating Disabilities)
6092	March 31, 1933	Veterans Regulation No. 4 (Protected Awards)
6093	March 31, 1933	Veterans Regulation No. 5 (Entitlement to Emergency Officers' Retired Pay)
6094	March 31, 1933	Veterans Regulation No. 6 (Eligibility for Domiciliary or Hospital Care, Including Medical Treatment)
6095	March 31, 1933	Veterans Regulation No. 7 (Eligibility for Medical Care for Veterans of any War)
6096	March 31, 1933	Veterans Regulation No. 8 (Yearly Renewable Term Insurance)
6097	March 31, 1933	Veterans Regulation No. 9 (Payment of Burial Expenses of Deceased War Veterans)
6098	March 31, 1933	Veterans Regulation No. 10 (Miscellaneous Provisions)
6099	March 31, 1933	Veterans Regulation No. 11 (Disclosure of Information and Furnishing Copies of Records)
6100	March 31, 1933	Veterans Regulation No. 12 (Presumption of Entitlement to Pensions for Spanish-War Veterans and Certain Widows, Children and Dependent Parents of Deceased World War Veterans)
6101	April 5, 1933	Relief of Unemployment through the Performance of Useful Public Work (establishing the Civilian Conservation Corps)
6102	April 5, 1933	Forbidding the Hoarding of Gold Coin, Gold Bullion and Gold Certificates
6103	April 5, 1933	Exemption of Banking Emergency Employees from Civil Service Rules

Executive Orders

6104	April 6, 1933	Transfer of Lands from the Cascade and Santiam National Forests to the Willamette National Forest (Oregon)
6105	April 6, 1933	Appointment of Miss Jessie B. Saunders
6106	April 10, 1933	Exemption of Persons from Compulsory Retirement for Age (Hugh A. Morrison and David E. Roberts, Library of Congress)
6106-A	April 10, 1933	Relief of Unemployment Through the Performance of Useful Public Work (Chief of Finance, Army, designated to handle funds, etc.)
6107	April 11, 1933	Exemption of Reuben Perry from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6108	April 12, 1933	Waiver of Provisions of Executive Order of January 17, 1873 (restriction on holding Federal and State office) for Raymond Moley
6109	April 12, 1933	Relief of Unemployment Through the Performance of Useful Public Work (Cash allowance for members of the Conservation Corps is fixed at the rate of \$30 per month from the date of enrollment to the date of final discharge, which cash allowance shall not be subject to the deductions prescribed in the Act approved March 20, 1933, Public No. 2, 73d Congress)
6110	April 15, 1933	Modification of Public Water Reserve No. 52 (Nevada)
6111	April 20, 1933	Relating to Foreign Exchange and the Earmarking and Export of Gold Coin or Bullion or Currency
6112	April 22, 1933	Partial Revocation of Withdrawal of Certain Lands for Transmission-Line Right-of-Way (California and Nevada)
6113	April 22, 1933	Withdrawing Lands for Right-of-Way for Transmission Line to Convey Power from Boulder Canyon Project to the City of Los Angeles
6114	April 22, 1933	Appointment of Mrs. May Cairns Aimone
6115	April 25, 1933	Revision and Codification of the Nationality Laws of the United States (the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, and the Secretary of Labor designated as a committee to review and recommend revisions in the nationality laws of the United States — to codify those laws into one comprehensive nationality law for submission to Congress)
6116	April 29, 1933	Public Water Reserve No. 151 (California)
6117	May 2, 1933	Harney National Forest, South Dakota (lands added)

Executive Orders

6118	May 2, 1933	Transferring Control of Certain Land to the Secretary of War (Alaska)
6119	May 2, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (California)
6120	May 2, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (California)
6121	May 2, 1933	Partial Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands (California)
6122	May 2, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (Colorado)
6123	May 2, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (Colorado)
6124	May 2, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (Colorado)
6125	May 2, 1933	Public Water Restoration No. 75 (Montana, New Mexico, Wyoming)
6126	May 8, 1933	Administration of the Emergency Conservation Work (establishment of office in District of Columbia authorized)
6127	May 8, 1933	Reimbursement for Supplies Furnished the Emergency Conservation Work
6128	May 10, 1933	Amendment of Rules Governing Navigation of the Panama Canal and Adjacent Waters
6129	May 11, 1933	Administration of the Emergency Conservation Work (authorizes enrollment of 25,000 veterans)
6130	May 11, 1933	Reserving Certain Lands for Federal Buildings (Alaska)
6131	May 12, 1933	Relief of Unemployment through the Performance of Useful Public Work (Indian Reservations)
6131-A	May 13, 1933	Relief of Unemployment through the Performance of Useful Public Work (ordering that named naval surgeons be attached to the War Department for duty with the Civilian Conservation Corps)
6132	May 15, 1933	Withdrawing Land for Army Radio Station (Alaska)
6133	May 15, 1933	Appointment of Mrs. Elizabeth Horter
6134	May 18, 1933	Amendment of Schedules A & B, Civil-Service Rules, Positions under Farm Credit Administration (substitution of "Farm Credit Administration" for "Federal Farm Board" and appointing a private secretary or confidential clerk each to the three Deputy Governors, the General Counsel, the five Commissioners, and the heads of six major divisions, and not exceeding eight positions in the immediate office of the Governor in addition to the

Executive Orders

		private secretary excepted under subdivision I of schedule A)
6135	May 20, 1933	Purchase of National-Forest Lands (allotting \$20,000,000 to Secretary of Agriculture)
6136	May 20, 1933	Extending the Application of the Act for the Relief of Unemployment through the Performance of Useful Public Work to County Parks and Metropolitan Sections of Municipal Parks
6137	May 22, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Resurvey (Arizona)
6138	May 22, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Resurvey (California)
6139	May 22, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Resurvey (Colorado)
6140	May 22, 1933	Revocation of Administrative-site Withdrawals (Montana)
6141	May 23, 1933	Amendment of Schedule B of the Civil Service Rules (elimination of paragraph 3 of subdivision III — effect will be to place these positions [special agents employed in collecting cotton statistics] in the competitive classified service)
6142	May 23, 1933	Amending Executive Order No. 5872, of June 30, 1932, so as to terminate on May 31, 1933, the exemption of Pickens Neagle, of the Navy Department, from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6143	May 23, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands to Aid the State in Making Exchange Selections (New Mexico)
6144	May 24, 1933	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6129 Entitled "Administration of the Emergency Conservation Work" (25,000 veterans to be enrolled under regulations by Director of Emergency Conservation Work)
6145	May 25, 1933	Abolition of Board of Indian Commissioners and Transfer of the Records, Property, and Personnel of said Board to the Secretary of the Interior
6146	May 26, 1933	Exemption of Walter L. G. Perry from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6147	May 26, 1933	Emergency Conservation Work upon Indian Reservations (establishing fund of \$5,875,500, subject to the requisition of Mr. Robert Fechner, Director)
6148	May 31, 1933	Relief of Unemployment through the Performance of Useful Public Work (ordering that named naval medical and dental officers be attached to the War Department for duty with the Civilian Conservation Corps)

Executive Orders

6149	May 31, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Resurvey (New Mexico)
6150	May 31, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Resurvey (New Mexico)
6151	June 1, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Resurvey (New Mexico)
6152	June 1, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Classification (Oregon)
6153	June 3, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (Colorado)
6154	June 5, 1933	Revocation of Administrative-site Withdrawals (Montana)
6155	June 5, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Resurvey (New Mexico)
6156	June 6, 1933	Veterans Regulation No. 1(a) — Entitlement to Pensions (<i>Part I</i> , Pensions to Veterans and the Dependents of Veterans for Disability or Death Resulting from Active Military or Naval Service during the Spanish-American War, Boxer Rebellion, Philippine Insurrection, and/or the World War; <i>Part II</i> , Payment of Pensions for Disability or Death Incurred during Peace Time Service; <i>Part III</i> , Payment of Pension for Disabilities or Death not the Result of Service)
6157	June 6, 1933	Veterans Regulation No. 3(a) — Schedule for Rating Disabilities
6158	June 6, 1933	Veterans Regulation No. 9(a) — Payment of Burial Expenses of Deceased War Veterans
6159	June 6, 1933	Veterans Regulation No. 10(a) — Miscellaneous Provisions
6160	June 7, 1933	Administration of the Emergency Conservation Work (pay and allowances; discipline; enrollment of 25,000 veterans; funds to be expended on Indian Reservations and for the purchase of Forest Lands; establishment of Conservation Camps. This order consolidates and amends Executive Orders Nos. 6129, 6136, and 6147)
6161	June 8, 1933	Conservation and Development of the Natural Resources of the Tennessee River Drainage Basin
6162	June 8, 1933	Construction of Cove Creek Dam on Clinch River (Tennessee Valley Authority)
6163	June 8, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Resurvey (Colorado)
6164	June 8, 1933	Transfer of Land at Army Supply Base (Charleston, South Carolina)

Executive Orders

6165	June 10, 1933	Tongass National Forest — Alaska (certain lands excluded)
6166	June 10, 1933	Organization of Executive Agencies (this order is the first, since March 4, 1933, of the Federal Government reorganization orders)
6167	June 9, 1933	Amendment to Regulations Governing Foreign Service Accounting
6168	June 13, 1933	Exemption of William A. Taylor from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6169	June 15, 1933	Relief of Unemployment through the Performance of Useful Public Work (Warrant officers of the Coast Guard, not exceeding 170, to be attached to the War Department for duty with the Civilian Conservation Corps)
6170	June 15, 1933	Assistant Secretary of the Interior Authorized to Perform the Duties of the Secretary
6171	June 15, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Resurvey (California)
6172	June 15, 1933	Cache National Forest — Utah (lands included)
6173	June 16, 1933	Administration for Industrial Recovery (Hugh Johnson appointed Administrator; Special Industrial Recovery Board appointed)
6174	June 16, 1933	Administration of Public Works (Colonel Donald H. Sawyer appointed Administrator; Special Board for Public Works appointed; fund earmarked for allotment)
6175	June 16, 1933	Separation Ratings of Departmental Employees
6176	June 16, 1933	Allowance to Rural Carriers for Equipment Maintenance
6177	June 16, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Resurvey (Arkansas)
6178	June 16, 1933	Carson National Forest — New Mexico (lands excluded)
6179	June 16, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (Utah)
6179-A	June 16, 1933	Revocation of Appointment to Classified Positions in the Department of Labor
6179-B	June 16, 1933	Abolition of the National Committee on Wood Utilization
6179-C	June 16, 1933	Designation of South Trimble, Jr., as Acting Secretary of Commerce
6180	June 21, 1933	Withdrawing Land for a Target Range (Arizona)
6181	June 24, 1933	Purchases of Land for National Forests
6182	June 26, 1933	Delegation of Certain Functions and Powers Under the National Industrial Recovery Act to the Secretary of Agriculture

Executive Orders

6183	June 26, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Resurvey (New Mexico)
6184	June 26, 1933	Helium Reserve No. 2 (Utah)
6185	June 26, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Resurvey (Wyoming)
6186	June 26, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Resurvey (Wyoming)
6187	June 26, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Resurvey (Wyoming)
6188	July 3, 1933	Announcing the Index Figures for the Cost of Living for the Six Months' Period Ending June 30, 1928, and June 30, 1933
6189	July 3, 1933	Withdrawal of Lands for Dock Site (Alaska)
6190	July 3, 1933	Partial Revocation of Withdrawal of Certain Lands for Transmission-Line Right-of-Way (California)
6191	July 3, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands (California)
6192	July 3, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (California)
6193	July 3, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Resurvey (New Mexico)
6194	July 3, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Resurvey (Oregon)
6195	July 3, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Resurvey (Wyoming)
6196	July 6, 1933	Administration Under the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933
6197	July 6, 1933	Revocation of Administrative-site Withdrawal (Montana)
6198	July 8, 1933	Administration of Public Works (Harold L. Ickes appointed Administrator of Public Works)
6199	July 11, 1933	Prohibition of Transportation in Interstate and Foreign Commerce of Petroleum and the Products thereof Unlawfully Produced or Withdrawn from Storage
6200	July 11, 1933	Administration of the Emergency Conservation Work (authority of the Director stated; authority to make expenditures for welfare of Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees)
6201	July 11, 1933	Puerto Rico Attached to Internal Revenue Collection District of Maryland
6201-A	July 11, 1933	Designation of Miss Louise Polk Wilson to Sign Land Patents
6202	July 11, 1933	Phosphate Restoration No. 54 (Wyoming)

Executive Orders

6202-A	July 11, 1933	Executive Council (established; members appointed; Frank C. Walker designated Executive Secretary)
6202-B	July 11, 1933	Designation of officers to act in absence of Secretary of the Treasury
6203	July 12, 1933	Appointment of Postmasters
6204	July 14, 1933	Prohibition of Transportation in Interstate and Foreign Commerce of Petroleum and the Products thereof Unlawfully Produced or Withdrawn from Storage
6204-A	July 14, 1933	Rayon Weaving Industry, Code of Fair Competition
6204-B	July 14, 1933	Throwing Industry, Code of Fair Competition
6205	July 14, 1933	Reservoir Site Reserve No. 19—East Fork Deschutes River (Oregon)
6205-A	July 15, 1933	Administration for Industrial Recovery (authorizing Mr. Johnson to appoint personnel, conduct hearings, and delegate functions vested in President by Title I of the N.R.A. Act)
6205-B	July 15, 1933	Codes of Fair Competition (Effectiveness of all Codes approved by the President)
6205-C	July 15, 1933	Silk Association of America, Code of Fair Competition
6206	July 16, 1933	Withdrawal of Lands in Aid of Legislation for the Protection of the Water Supply of the City of Los Angeles (California)
6206-A	July 16, 1933	Cotton Textile Industry, Code of Fair Competition
6206-B	July 16, 1933	Cotton Thread Industry, Code of Fair Competition
6206-C	July 19, 1933	Appointment of Mrs. Bertha Wetherton
6207	July 21, 1933	Continuing in Effect the Authority Delegated to the Secretary of Agriculture by Executive Order No. 6182
6208	July 21, 1933	Purchase of Forest Lands for Emergency Conservation Work (Funds allocated for Forest Land Purchase)
6209	July 21, 1933	Redistribution of the Overbalance of Population in Industrial Centers by Means of Making Loans for and Otherwise Aiding in the Purchase of Subsistence Homesteads
6209-A	July 21, 1933	Textile Finishing Industry, Code of Fair Competition
6209-B	July 21, 1933	Underwear and Allied Products, Code of Fair Competition
6210	July 22, 1933	Consolidating the Natural Bridge National Forest with the George Washington National Forest (Virginia and West Virginia)

Executive Orders

6210-A	July 22, 1933	Silk and Rayon Dyeing and Printing Industry Code of Fair Competition
6211	July 24, 1933	Administration of Public Works (Colonel Henry M. Waite appointed to Special Board of Public Works)
6212	July 25, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Classification (California)
6213	July 25, 1933	Rental and Subsistence Allowances of Officers
6214	July 25, 1933	Exemption of Curtis F. Marbut from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6214-A	July 25, 1933	Amendment of Schedule B of the Civil Service Rules (certain field positions with Commerce Department excepted from classified service)
6214-B	July 25, 1933	Executive Council (Calvin W. Brown appointed as Assistant Secretary of Executive Council)
6215	July 26, 1933	Amendment of Schedule A of the Civil Service Rules (Positions in Division of Investigation, Justice Department, excepted from examination)
6216	July 26, 1933	Ship-Building and Ship-Repairing Industry, Code of Fair Competition
6217	July 26, 1933	Appointments of James J. Maloney, John E. Murphy, Roy G. Perry, and Albert R. Vaughan as Operatives in the Secret Service Division of the Treasury Department
6218	July 26, 1933	Appointment of David A. Gates
6219	July 26, 1933	Healing Arts Practice Regulations for the Canal Zone
6220	July 26, 1933	Authorizing Appointment of Louis R. Glavis to any Position in the Classified Civil Service
6221	July 26, 1933	Organization of Executive Agencies (deferring the effective date of certain consolidations)
6221-A	July 26, 1933	Wool Textile Industry, Code of Fair Competition
6221-B	July 26, 1933	National Association of Hosiery Manufacturers, Code of Fair Competition
6221-C	July 26, 1933	International Association of Garment Manufacturers and Subdivisional Industries Thereof, Code of Fair Competition
6221-D	July 26, 1933	National Council of Pajama Manufacturers, Code of Fair Competition
6222	July 27, 1933	Postponing Effective Date of Transfer of Legal Work, Veterans Administration, to Department of Justice
6223	July 27, 1933	Administration of the Emergency Conservation Work (\$171,638.75 allocated for acquisition of land for national arboretum)

Executive Orders

6224	July 27, 1933	Postponement of Certain Provisions of Executive Order No. 6166, of June 10, 1933 (reorganization order)
6225	July 27, 1933	Central Statistical Board (established and membership designated; powers prescribed and funds allotted)
6226	July 27, 1933	Providing for Current Encumbrance Reports
6227	July 27, 1933	Employees of Certain Executive Agencies Continued in the Service of the United States Temporarily (employees separated from service because of reorganization of Executive agencies)
6227-A	July 27, 1933	Cordage and Twine Industry, Code of Fair Competition
6228	July 28, 1933	Organization of Executive Agencies (transfer of functions over enumerated cemeteries from War to Interior Department)
6229	July 28, 1933	Veterans Regulation No. 1(b), Entitlement to Pensions
6230	July 28, 1933	Effective Dates of Awards of Disability and Death Pensions; Provisions for Filing Claims; Review of Presumptive Claims by Special Review Boards
6231	July 28, 1933	Veterans Regulation No. 3(b), Schedule for Rating Disabilities
6232	July 28, 1933	Veterans Regulation No. 6(a), Eligibility for Domiciliary or Hospital Care Including Medical Treatment
6233	July 28, 1933	Veterans Regulation No. 7(a), Eligibility for Medical Care
6234	July 28, 1933	Veterans Regulation No. 10(b), Miscellaneous Provisions
6235	July 28, 1933	Power-Site Restoration No. 477 (Oregon)
6236	July 28, 1933	Appointment of Henry Roe Cloud
6237	July 28, 1933	Purchase of National Park Lands (Great Smoky Mountains National Park)
6237-A	July 30, 1933	Vesting Certain Power and Authority in the Alien Property Custodian
6238	July 31, 1933	Establishment of Science Advisory Board Under the National Research Council
6239	August 2, 1933	Organization of Executive Agencies (abolition of the Federal Coordinating Service deferred to October 10, 1933)
6240	August 3, 1933	Central Statistical Board (Winfield W. Riefler designated a member)
6241	August 3, 1933	Inspection of Tax Returns by Special Committee

Executive Orders

		to Investigate Foreign and Domestic, Ocean and Air Mail Contracts, United States Senate
6242	August 4, 1933	Designation of Mrs. Alice M. Grove to Sign Land Patents
6242-A	August 4, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Coat and Suit Industry
6242-B	August 4, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Electrical Manufacturing Industry
6242-C	August 4, 1933	In the Matter of the Application of Alabama Mills Company, a Bankrupt, by Paul A. Redmond, Trustee, for Certain Exemptions from the Cotton Textile Code
6242-D	August 4, 1933	In the Matter of the Application of Crystal Springs Bleachery, Incorporated, for Certain Stay of Application and Exemption from the Cotton Textile Code
6242-E	August 4, 1933	In the Matter of the Application of Dwight Manufacturing Company for Certain Exemptions from the Cotton Textile Code
6243	August 5, 1933	Postponing Effective Date Transfer of the District Court of the United States for the Panama Canal Zone to Department of Justice
6244	August 8, 1933	Postponement of Certain Provisions of Executive Order No. 6166 of June 10, 1933 (Office of the General Counsel of Internal Revenue Bureau)
6245	August 9, 1933	Employees of Certain Executive Agencies Continued in the Service of the United States Temporarily
6246	August 10, 1933	Administration of the National Industrial Recovery Act (requirement that Government Contractors shall comply with Codes of Fair Competition)
6247	August 10, 1933	Preparation, Form, Style and Safeguarding of Executive Orders and Proclamations
6248	August 14, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Corset and Brassiere Industry
6249	August 14, 1933	Lace Manufacturing Industry, Code of Fair Competition
6250	August 16, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Legitimate Full Length Dramatic and Musical Theatrical Industry
6251	August 19, 1933	Designating the Federal Power Commission as an Agency to Aid the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works
6252	August 19, 1933	Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works (Delegation of Functions and Powers to and regulations governing)

Executive Orders

6253	August 19, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Fishing Tackle Industry
6254	August 19, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Iron and Steel Industry
6255	August 19, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Lumber and Timber Products Industries
6256	August 19, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Petroleum Industry
6257	August 19, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Photographic Manufacturing Industry
6258	August 22, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (New Mexico)
6258-A	August 26, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Automobile Manufacturing Industry
6258-B	August 26, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Rayon and Synthetic Yarn Producing Industry
6258-C	August 26, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Hosiery Industry
6258-D	August 26, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Men's Clothing Industry
6259	August 27, 1933	Amendment of Executive Order of January 28, 1873, Relating to the Holding of State, Municipal, or other Local Office by Federal Officers and Employees (Bringing all mechanics and laborers in armories, arsenals, navy yards, etc., within operation)
6260	August 28, 1933	Relating to the Hoarding, Export, and Earmarking of Gold Coin, Bullion, or Currency and to Transactions in Foreign Exchange
6260-A	August 28, 1933	Administration of the Petroleum Industry (appointing Secretary of Interior as Administrator under Petroleum Code)
6261	August 29, 1933	Relating to the Sale and Export of Gold Recovered from Natural Deposits
6262	August 29, 1933	Amendments to Regulations Governing Foreign Service Accounting (Remission of fees in full)
6263	August 30, 1933	Exemption of Joe Smith from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6264	August 31, 1933	Exemption of George P. Metzger from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6265	September 5, 1933	Purchase of Forest Lands for Emergency Conservation Work (Allotment to Bureau of Chemistry and Soils for soil examination, etc.)
6266	September 6, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (Colorado)

Executive Orders

6267	September 6, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (New Mexico)
6268	September 6, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (New Mexico)
6269	September 6, 1933	Withdrawal of Land for use by the Washington-Alaska Military Cable and Telegraph System (Alaska)
6270	September 7, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Motion Picture Laboratory Industry
6271	September 7, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Wall Paper Manufacturing Industry
6272	September 7, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Salt Producing Industry
6273	September 7, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Leather Industry
6274	September 7, 1933	Denial of Application of Connecticut Garment Manufacturers Association, for Certain Exemptions from the Coat and Suit Code
6275	September 7, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Cast Iron Soil Pipe Industry
6276	September 8, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands to Aid the State in Making Exchange Selections (New Mexico)
6277	September 8, 1933	Public Water Reserve No. 152 (Colorado, Oregon, and Utah)
6278	September 12, 1933	Partial Revocation of Withdrawal of Certain Lands for Transmission-Line Right-of-Way (California)
6279	September 12, 1933	Sturgeon Bay, Wisconsin, Abolished as a Customs Port of Entry
6280	September 13, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Resurvey (New Mexico)
6281	September 13, 1933	Knoxville, Tennessee, Abolished as a Customs Port of Entry
6282	September 13, 1933	Lincoln, Nebraska, Abolished as a Customs Port of Entry
6283	September 13, 1933	New Bern, North Carolina, and Manteo, North Carolina, Abolished as Customs Ports of Entry
6284	September 13, 1933	Robbinston, Maine, Abolished as a Customs Port of Entry; Limits of Customs Port of Calais, Maine, Extended
6284-A	September 13, 1933	Modifications of Code of Fair Competition for the Petroleum Industry
6285	September 14, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Classification (California)
6286	September 14, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (New Mexico)
6287	September 14, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (New Mexico)

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6288	September 14, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (Wyoming)
6289	September 18, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Flower and Feather Industry
6289-A	September 18, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Bituminous Coal Industry
6290	September 18, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Gasoline Pump Manufacturing Industry
6291	September 18, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Linoleum and Felt Base Manufacturing Industry
6292	September 18, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Oil Burner Industry
6293	September 18, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Textile Bag Industry
6294	September 18, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Transit Industry
6295	September 18, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Underwear and Allied Products Manufacturing Industry
6296	September 18, 1933	Denial of application of Gem-Dandy Garter Company for Certain Exemptions from the Corset and Brassiere Code
6296-A	September 22, 1933	Government Contracts (Payment to contractors to offset increased cost on government contracts due to code provisions)
6297	September 25, 1933	Modification of Reservoir-Site Reserve No. 17, Pacific Slope Basins (California)
6298	September 29, 1933	Appointment of Hugh S. Johnson to serve temporarily as a member of each Code Authority
6299	September 29, 1933	Revised Code of Fair Competition for the Bituminous Coal Industry
6300	September 30, 1933	Chincoteague, Virginia, Abolished as a Customs Port of Entry
6301	September 30, 1933	Further Postponing Effective Date of Transfer of the District Court of the United States for the Panama Canal Zone to the Department of Justice
6302	September 30, 1933	Exemption of Clayborn L. Gatewood from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6303	September 30, 1933	Consolidating the Kaniksu National Forest with the Pend Oreille National Forest and the Transferring of Lands from the Pend Oreille National Forest to the Coeur D'Alene National Forest, Idaho and Washington
6304	October 3, 1933	Concerning the President's Reemployment Agreement (Modification of maximum hour provisions of President's Reemployment Agreement)
6305	October 3, 1933	Bankers Code of Fair Competition (approval)
6306	October 3, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Lime Industry

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6307	October 3, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Farm Equipment Industry
6308	October 3, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Boiler Manufacturing Industry
6309	October 3, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Electric Storage and Wet Primary Battery Industry
6310	October 3, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Textile Machinery Manufacturing Industry
6311	October 3, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Knitting, Braiding and Wire Covering Machine Industries
6312	October 3, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Builders Supplies Trade
6313	October 3, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Industry
6314	October 3, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Laundry and Dry Cleaning Machinery Manufacturing Industry
6315	October 3, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Saddlery Manufacturing Industry
6316	October 3, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Ice Industry
6317	October 3, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Retail Lumber, Lumber Products, Building Materials and Building Specialties Trade
6318	October 3, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Luggage and Fancy Leather Goods Industry
6319	October 3, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Women's Belt Industry
6320	October 3, 1933	Amending Code of Fair Competition for Oil Burner Industry
6321	October 3, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Motor Vehicle Retailing Trade
6322	October 3, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Glass Container Industry
6323	October 9, 1933	Amendment of Code of Fair Competition, Lumber and Timber Products Industries
6324	October 5, 1933	Appointment of David H. Morton
6325	October 9, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Optical Manufacturing Industry
6326	October 9, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Umbrella Manufacturing Industry
6327	October 9, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Handkerchief Industry
6328	October 9, 1933	Mutual Savings Banks Code of Fair Competition
6328-A	October 9, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Automatic Sprinkler Industry

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6329	October 10, 1933	Amendment of Code of Fair Competition, Ship Building and Ship Repairing Industry
6330	October 10, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Silk Textile Industry
6331	October 11, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Land for Conservation Camp (California)
6331-A	October 11, 1933	Denial of Application of Associated Cloak and Suit Manufacturers of Portland, Oregon, for Certain Exemptions from the Coat and Suit Code
6331-B	October 11, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Compressed Air Industry
6331-C	October 11, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Heat Exchange Industry
6331-D	October 11, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Pump Manufacturing Industry
6331-E	October 11, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Throwing Industry
6332	October 12, 1933	Allowance to Rural Carriers for Equipment Maintenance (Rural Mail Delivery Service)
6333	October 13, 1933	Transfer of Lands from the Rainier National Forest to the Columbia National Forest (Washington)
6334	October 13, 1933	Transfer of Lands from the Rainier National Forest to the Snoqualmie National Forest (Washington)
6335	October 13, 1933	Transfer of Lands from the Rainier National Forest to the Wenatchee National Forest (Washington)
6336	October 13, 1933	Transfer of Lands from the Snoqualmie National Forest to the Mount Baker National Forest (Washington)
6337	October 14, 1933	Rules and Regulations under Section 10(a) and Delegation of Authority under Section 2(b) of the National Industrial Recovery Act (False representation of Code compliance, use of the N.R.A. emblem)
6338	October 14, 1933	Exemption of James S. Goldsmith and George G. Hedgcock from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6339	October 14, 1933	Michigan City, Indiana, Abolished as a Customs Port of Entry
6340	October 16, 1933	Authorizing the Formation of a Corporation to Be Known as the Commodity Credit Corporation
6341	October 17, 1933	Extension of Trust Period on Lands of the Morongo Bank of Mission Indians (California)
6342	October 18, 1933	Inspection of Tax Returns by Special Committee to Investigate Receivership and Bankruptcy, Pro-

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		ceedings and Appointment of Receivers and Trustees, United States Senate, Authorized
6343	October 18, 1933	Designation of and Authorization to the Secretary of the Interior to Acquire Certain Property (In connection with the construction of any project under allocations made to Interior Department)
6344	October 20, 1933	Authorization and Allocation of Funds for Purchase of Lands for Forest Research in Connection with National Arboretum
6345	October 20, 1933	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6182 as supplemented by Executive Order No. 6207, which delegated to the Secretary of Agriculture certain authority Under the National Industrial Recovery Act (adds agricultural commodity, food, non-food products of grains, cotton seed trades, industries or subdivisions to those previously designated)
6346	October 20, 1933	Denial of application of Greensboro Lumber Company and H. A. Taylor for Certain Exemptions from the Code of Fair Competition for the Lumber and Timber Products Industries
6347	October 20, 1933	Further Stay of Part I, Section 1(c) of Code of Fair Competition for the Underwear and Allied Products Manufacturing Industry (Stay of Effective Date of Code)
6348	October 20, 1933	Modifying Agreement Approved July 27, 1933, between the President of the United States and the Code Committee of the Cordage and Twine Industry (Minimum Wage Provision)
6349	October 20, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Marking Devices Industry
6350	October 20, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Cap and Closure Industry
6351	October 21, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Retail Trade
6352	October 23, 1933	Amending Paragraph 6, Subdivision VII, Schedule A of the Civil Service Rules (continuing exemption of temporary clerks, carriers and laborers in the Postal Service)
6353	October 23, 1933	To Effectuate the Provisions of Section 3(e) of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act (Procedure under Foreign Competition Provisions, Complaints and Investigations)
6354	October 23, 1933	Rules and Regulations Under the National Industrial Recovery Act (Exemption of small businesses in small towns from President's Reemployment Agreement; Investigation of Price Increases)

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6355	October 23, 1933	Defining Effect of Certain Provisions in Codes of Fair Competition upon Cooperative Organizations (Patronage dividends paid by cooperatives)
6356	October 23, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Industrial Supplies and Machinery Distributors' Trade
6357	October 23, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Plumbago Crucible Industry
6358	October 23, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Steel Tubular and Firebox Boiler Industry
6359	October 25, 1933	Relating to Gold Recovered from Natural Deposits (Revoking Executive Order No. 6261 and Permitting Export Under Regulations of Secretary of Treasury)
6360	October 25, 1933	Authorization to appoint Mr. Wade Crawford (Superintendent of Klamath Indian Agency)
6361	October 25, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Classification (California)
6362	October 25, 1933	Partial Revocation of Executive Order No. 6143 Withdrawing Certain Lands in New Mexico
6363	October 25, 1933	Revocation of Withdrawal of Public Lands pending Classification as to Coal (New Mexico)
6364	October 26, 1933	Authorization to appoint Mrs. Jean Springstead Whittemore (Collector of Customs for Puerto Rico)
6365	October 26, 1933	Greenwich, Middletown, Norwalk, South Manchester, and Stamford, Connecticut, abolished as Customs Ports of Entry
6366	October 27, 1933	Labor Provisions for the Beet Sugar Industry
6367	October 31, 1933	Public Water Restoration No. 76 (Wyoming)
6368	October 31, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Advertising Specialty Industry
6369	October 31, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Dress Manufacturing Industry
6370	October 31, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Fertilizer Industry
6371	October 31, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Gas Cock Industry
6372	October 31, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Millinery and Dress Trimming Braid and Textile Industry
6373	October 31, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Motor Bus Industry
6374	October 31, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Packaging Machinery Industry and Trade
6375	October 31, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Road Machinery Manufacturing Industry

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6376	October 31, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Hair and Jute Felt Industry
6377	October 31, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Terra Cotta Industry
6378	October 31, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Canning and Packing Machinery Industry
6379	October 31, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Paint, Varnish and Lacquer Manufacturing Industry
6380	November 1, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Nottingham Lace Curtain Industry
6381	November 1, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Asbestos Industry
6382	November 1, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Rock Crusher Manufacturing Industry
6383	November 1, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Novelty Curtains, Draperies, Bedspreads and Novelty Pillow Industry
6384	November 1, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Crown Manufacturing Industry
6385	November 2, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the American Petroleum Industry and Trade
6386	November 2, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Steel Casting Industry
6387	November 2, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Copper and Brass Mill Products Industry
6388	November 2, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Fabricated Metal Products Manufacturing and Metal Finishing and Metal Coating Industry
6389	November 2, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Soap and Glycerine Manufacturing Industry
6390	November 3, 1933	Designation of Marshal as Officer to Disburse Funds for Maintenance and Operation of District Court of the United States for Panama Canal Zone, etc.
6391	November 4, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Men's Garter, Suspender and Belt Manufacturing Industry
6392	November 4, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for Stock Exchange Firms
6393	November 4, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Toy and Playthings Industry
6394	November 4, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Funeral Supply Industry
6395	November 4, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Business Furniture, Storage Equipment and Filing Supply Industry
6396	November 4, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Office Equipment Manufacturers Industry

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6397	November 4, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Buffing and Polishing Composition Industry
6398	November 4, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Buffing and Polishing Wheel Industry
6399	November 4, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Piano Manufacturing Industry
6400	November 4, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Floor and Wall Clay Tile Manufacturing Industry
6401	November 4, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Washing and Ironing Machine Manufacturing Industry
6402	November 4, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Leather and Woolen Knit Glove Industry
6403	November 4, 1933	Denial of application of Kaplan Brothers for Certain Exemptions from the Code of Fair Competition for the Artificial Flower and Feather Industry
6403-A	November 4, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Fire Extinguishing Appliance Manufacturing Industry
6404	November 4, 1933	Oil-Shale Restoration No. 2, Nevada (Partial Revocation)
6405	November 4, 1933	Power-Site Restoration No. 478, Utah (Partial Revocation of Power-Site Reserve No. 191)
6406	November 6, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Asphalt Shingle and Roofing Manufacturing Industry
6407	November 6, 1933	(Application for exemption from machine hour provision denied and stay under Code of Fair Competition for the Cotton Textile Industry terminated)
6408	November 7, 1933	Corrected Description of the Boundaries of Fort Ruger Military Reservation, Hawaii
6409	November 7, 1933	Transfer of Lands from and to the Ashley and Wasatch National Forests, Utah and Wyoming
6410	November 8, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Printers' Rollers Industry
6411	November 8, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Motor Fire Apparatus Manufacturing Industry
6412	November 8, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Ladder Manufacturing Industry
6413	November 8, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Shovel, Dragline and Crane Industry
6414	November 8, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Paperboard Industry
6415	November 8, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Liquefied Gas Industry
6416	November 8, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Machine Tool and Forging Machinery Industry

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6416-A	November 8, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Cleaning and Dyeing Trade
6417	November 8, 1933	Supplement to Code of Fair Competition for the Automobile Manufacturing Industry covering Fair Trade Practices for the Funeral Vehicle and Ambulance Subdivision
6418	November 8, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Automotive Parts and Equipment Manufacturing Industry
6419	November 9, 1933	Exemption of James A. Wetmore from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6420	November 9, 1933	Authorization to Appoint Mrs. Mary M. Flanagan (Charwoman)
6420-A	November 9, 1933	Modifications of the Code of Fair Competition for the Cotton Textile Industry
6420-B	November 9, 1933	Creation of the Federal Civil Works Administration
6421	November 10, 1933	Coal-Land Restoration, New Mexico No. 50
6422	November 10, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Hardwood Distillation Industry
6423	November 10, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Crushed Stone, Sand and Gravel and Slag Industries
6423-A	November 11, 1933	Approval of Code of Fair Competition for the Imported Date Packing Industry
6424	November 13, 1933	(Terminating date on stay of effectiveness of machine hour provisions of Cotton Textile Code extended)
6425	November 14, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Scientific Apparatus Industry
6426	November 14, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Air Transport Industry
6427	November 14, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Gear Manufacturing Industry
6428	November 14, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Wood Plug Industry
6429	November 14, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Limestone Industry
6430	November 14, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the All-Metal Insect Screen Industry
6431	November 14, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Mop Stick Industry
6431-A	November 15, 1933	Code of Labor Provisions for the Retail Food and Grocery Trade
6431-B	November 15, 1933	Code of Labor Provisions for the Wholesale Food and Grocery Trade

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6432	November 16, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (Wyoming)
6433	November 17, 1933	Authorization to appoint Mrs. Josephine B. Wales
6433-A	November 17, 1933	Creation of the National Emergency Council
6434	November 17, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Cotton Garment Industry
6435	November 17, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Newsprint Industry
6436	November 17, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Special Tool, Die and Machine Shop Industry
6437	November 17, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Paper and Pulp Industry
6438	November 17, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Hotel Industry
6438-A	November 17, 1933	Authorization to appoint Job K. Jones, Allan B. Walsh, et al (24 appointed to appropriate positions in the Bureau of Internal Revenue of the Treasury Department)
6439	November 18, 1933	Delegating Authority Under Section 2(b) and prescribing Rules and Regulations under Section 10(a) of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act (Adoption of seal and authentication of records by the National Recovery Administration)
6440	November 18, 1933	Rates of Compensation of Government Employees in Emergency Agencies not subject to the Classification Act, and Acts Amendatory thereof
6441	November 21, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Classification (Wyoming)
6441-A	November 21, 1933	Approval of Code of Fair Competition for the Southern Rice Milling Industry
6442	November 22, 1933	Prescribing Rules and Regulations under the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 (Creation of State organization)
6443	November 22, 1933	Authorizing the Administrator for Industrial Recovery to Modify Agreements entered into or approved by the President under Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act
6444	November 25, 1933	Restoring Drill Sites to Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 2, California
6444-A	November 26, 1933	Approval of Code of Fair Competition for the Distilled Spirits Industry
6445	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Vitrified Clay Sewer Pipe Manufacturing Industry
6446	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Anti-Friction Bearing Industry

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6447	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Pipe Nipple Manufacturing Industry
6448	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Machine Tool and Equipment Distributing Trade
6449	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Retail Jewelry Trade
6450	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Precious Jewelry Producing Industry
6451	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Concrete Masonry Industry
6452	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Cigar Container Manufacturers Code
6453	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Cement Industry
6454	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Warm Air Furnace Manufacturing Industry
6455	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Reinforcing Materials Fabricating Industry
6456	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for Investment Bankers
6457	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Chinaware and Porcelain Manufacturing Industry
6458	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Motion Picture Industry
6459	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Upholstery and Drapery Textile Industry
6460	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Wool Felt Manufacturing Industry
6461	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Malleable Iron Industry
6462	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Gas Appliances and Apparatus Industry
6463	November 27, 1933	(Termination date on stay of effectiveness of machine hour provisions of Cotton Textile Code further extended)
6464	November 27, 1933	Interpretation of Commercial Bribery Provisions included in Codes of Fair Competition heretofore approved
6465	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Structural Clay Products Industry
6466	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Waterproofing, Dampproofing, Caulking Compounds and Concrete Floor Treatments Manufacturing Industry
6467	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Retail Trade Order No. 7—Extension of effective date of Arti-

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		cle IX, Section 4 (Coupons and other forms of scrip)
6467-A	November 27, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Radio Broadcasting Industry
6468	November 29, 1933	Restoring to the Territory of Hawaii a part of the Fort Ruger Military Reservation
6469	November 29, 1933	Revocation in part of Executive Order of April 20, 1931, withdrawing Public Lands pending Resurvey, Wyoming
6470	November 29, 1933	Designating and Establishing the Public Works Emergency Housing Corporation as an Agency under Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act
6471	November 29, 1933	Authorization to Appoint Miss Maude McGaugh
6471-A	December 2, 1933	Approval of Code of Fair Competition for the Alcoholic Beverages Importing Industry
6472	December 2, 1933	Assignment of Frequencies to Government Radio Stations
6473	December 4, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey, Wyoming
6473-A	December 4, 1933	Approval of Code of Fair Competition for the Brewing Industry
6474	December 4, 1933	Establishment of the Federal Alcohol Control Administration, etc.
6475	December 4, 1933	Authorization to appoint Miss Anne Stevens
6476	December 4, 1933	Termination of stay of provisions of Cotton Textile Code with reference to limitation of the use of productive machinery
6477	December 6, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Classification, South Dakota
6478	December 6, 1933	Revocation in part of Executive Order of February 7, 1930, withdrawing Public Lands pending classification, etc., New Mexico
6479	December 7, 1933	Providing for the Submission of Statistical Information by Persons subject to Codes of Fair Competition
6480	December 7, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Paper Making Machine Builders Industry
6481	December 7, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Furniture Manufacturing Industry
6482	December 7, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Excelsior and Excelsior Products Industry
6483	December 7, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Motor Vehicle Storage and Parking Trade

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6484	December 7, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Pyrotechnic Manufacturing Industry
6485	December 7, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Machined Waste Manufacturing Industry
6486	December 7, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Asphalt and Mastic Tile Industry
6487	December 7, 1933	Order Amending the Code of Fair Competition for the Lumber and Timber Products Industries designated as Amendment No. 3 and No. 4 establishing the "Broom and Mop Handle Divisions"
6487-A	December 9, 1933	Approval of Code of Fair Competition for the Alcoholic Beverage Wholesale Industry
6487-B	December 9, 1933	Approval of Code of Fair Competition for the Distilled Spirits Rectifying Industry
6488	December 11, 1933	Amendment of Schedule A, Subdivision XIII, of the Civil Service Rules (one position of Director of Information and one position of Administrative Assistant in the Office of the Secretary; Post Office Department)
6489	December 11, 1933	Amendment of Schedule A, Subdivision XIII, of the Civil Service Rules (six District Commissioners of Immigration and Naturalization)
6490	December 12, 1933	Revocation of withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Resurvey (New Mexico)
6491	December 12, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands in connection with Fort Peck Dam, Federal Project No. 30, Federal Emergency Public Works Administration (Montana)
6492	December 12, 1933	Coal Land Restoration, New Mexico No. 51
6493	December 12, 1933	Restoring to the Territory of Hawaii for Highway Purposes a portion of the Site of the Naval Radio Station, Wailupe, Honolulu, Ohau (Hawaii)
6494	December 14, 1933	Exemption of Charles J. Chamberlain from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6495	December 14, 1933	Administrative Furloughs (in the Federal Service)
6496	December 14, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (New Mexico)
6497	December 15, 1933	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6247, of August 10, 1933 (addition of a paragraph stating that this Executive Order shall not be construed to apply to such orders as the President may issue approving codes of fair competition under Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act Public, No. 67, 73d Cong.)

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6498	December 15, 1933	Extension of Trust Period on Indian Lands expiring during the year 1934
6499	December 15, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (New Mexico)
6500	December 15, 1933	Revoking in part Executive Order No. 5462 withdrawing Public Land for Customs and Immigration Inspection Purposes (Arizona)
6501	December 15, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Millinery Industry
6502	December 15, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Can Manufacturers Industry
6503	December 15, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Valve and Fittings Manufacturing Industry
6504	December 15, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Metal Tank Industry
6505	December 15, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Oxy-Acetylene Industry
6506	December 15, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Rubber Manufacturing Industry
6507	December 15, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Hair Cloth Manufacturing Industry
6508	December 15, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Stone Finishing Machinery and Equipment Industry
6509	December 15, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Dry and Polishing Mop Manufacturing Industry
6510	December 15, 1933	Men's Clothing Industry (Amendments to Code of Fair Competition)
6510-A	December 15, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Fur Trapping Contractors Industry
6511	December 16, 1933	Continuance of the National Labor Board, etc.
6512	December 16, 1933	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6433-A of November 17, 1933 (Deferring until January 16, 1934 the abolition of volunteer field agencies)
6512-A	December 16, 1933	(Appointment of Charles Brenton Barnes as Presidential member of the Bituminous Coal Labor Board, for Division I, South)
6513	December 18, 1933	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6433-A (All members of Special Industrial Recovery Board, members of the National Emergency Council)
6513-A	December 18, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Set Up Paper Box Industry
6513-B	December 18, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Knitted Outerwear Industry
6513-C	December 18, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Waxed Paper Industry

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6513-D	December 18, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Domestic Freight Forwarding Industry
6513-E	December 18, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Wholesale Automotive Trade
6513-F	December 18, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Non-Ferrous Foundry Industry
6513-G	December 18, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Refractories Industry
6513-H	December 18, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Fur Dressing and Fur Dyeing Industry
6513-I	December 18, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Cast Iron Soil Pipe Industry (Amendment Number I)
6513-J	December 18, 1933	Amendments to Code of Fair Competition for the Men's Clothing Industry Amendments to Code of Fair Competition for the Cotton Garment Industry
6513-K	December 18, 1933	Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Automobile Manufacturing Industry
6514	December 19, 1933	Authorizing the Formation of a Corporation to be known as Electric Home and Farm Authority, Inc.
6515	December 19, 1933	Extension of the President's Reemployment Agreement to April 30, 1934
6515-A	December 19, 1933	Authorizing Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr., to act as Secretary of Labor
6516	December 20, 1933	Excusing Federal Employees in the District of Columbia from Duty December 23 and 30, 1933
6517	December 21, 1933	Amendment of Executive Order of December 20, 1933, Excusing Federal Employees in the District of Columbia from Duty December 23 and 30, 1933
6518	December 21, 1933	Waiving Provisions of Executive Order of January 17, 1873, Prohibiting Federal Officers and Employees from holding State or Municipal Offices, as to Martin Conboy
6519	December 21, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for Savings, Building and Loan Associations
6520	December 21, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Grinding Wheel Industry
6521	December 21, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Rolling Steel Door Industry
6522	December 21, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Rayon and Silk Dyeing and Printing Industry
6523	December 21, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Industry Engaged in the Smelting and Refining of Secondary Metals into Brass and Bronze Alloys in Ingot Form

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6524	December 21, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Rubber Tire Manufacturing Industry
6525	December 21, 1933	Modifications of the Code of Fair Competition for the Gasoline Pump Manufacturing Industry
6526	December 21, 1933	Denial of application of the Southern Plow Manufacturers Association and the Blount Plow Works, for Certain Exemptions from the Code of Fair Competition for the Farm Equipment Industry (and amendment to Code)
6527	December 21, 1933	Providing for Notice of Proceedings and Matters in the Administration of the National Industrial Recovery Act (Official Bulletin Board of N.R.A. established; effect of posting notice)
6527-A	December 21, 1933	Additions and Amendments to the Code of Fair Competition for the Petroleum Industry
6528	December 23, 1933	Revocation in Part of Executive Order of April 20, 1931, Withdrawing Public Lands, Wyoming
6529	December 23, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Textile Bag Industry, Modifications of Code
6530	December 23, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Medium and Low Priced Jewelry Manufacturing Industry
6531	December 23, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, Silverware Manufacturing Industry
6532	December 23, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Photo-Engraving Industry
6533	December 23, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for Electrotyping and Stereotyping Industry
6534	December 23, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Paper Distributing Trade
6535	December 23, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Commercial Refrigerator Industry
6536	December 23, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Watch Case Manufacturing Industry
6537	December 23, 1933	Appointing Members of Temporary Code Authority for the Motor Vehicle Storage and Parking Trade
6538	December 23, 1933	Code Authority, Toy and Playthings Industry
6539	December 23, 1933	(Approving amendments to Code of Fair Competition for the Lace Manufacturing Industry)
6539-A	December 27, 1933	Approval of Code of Fair Competition for the Wine Industry
6539-B	December 27, 1933	Approval of Code of Fair Competition for the Commercial and Breeder Hatchery Industry
6539-C	December 27, 1933	Reinstatement of Former Foreign Service Officers
6540	December 28, 1933	Postponement of Certain Provisions of Executive

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		Order No. 6166 of June 10, 1933 (General postponement of reorganization until June 30, 1934)
6541	December 28, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Flood Control Purposes, Nevada
6542	December 28, 1933	Authorizing the Purchase of Land for Emergency Conservation Work
6543	December 30, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Retail Food and Grocery Trade
6543-A	December 30, 1933	Delegating Further Functions and Powers to the Administrator for Industrial Recovery (Power to approve Codes for all but Major Industries; to approve Amendments, etc.)
6543-B	December 30, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Household Ice Refrigerator Industry
6543-C	December 30, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Shoe and Leather Finish, Polish, and Cement Manufacturing Industry
6543-D	December 30, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Concrete Pipe Manufacturing Industry
6543-E	December 30, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the End Grain Strip Wood Block Industry
6543-F	December 30, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Cotton Cloth Glove Manufacturing Industry
6543-G	December 30, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Velvet Industry
6543-H	December 30, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Coated Abrasives Industry
6543-I	December 30, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Paper Stationery and Tablet Manufacturing Industry
6543-J	December 30, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Cinders, Ashes, and Scavenger Trade
6543-K	December 30, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Cast Iron Pressure Pipe Industry
6543-L	December 30, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Folding Paper Box Industry
6543-M	December 30, 1933	Code of Fair Competition for the Blouse and Skirt Manufacturing Industries
6543-N	December 30, 1933	Code of Fair Competition, American Match Industry
6543-O	December 30, 1933	(Approving Amendments to Code of Fair Competition for the Wall Paper Manufacturing Industry)
6544	December 30, 1933	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Forest Fire Look-out Sites, etc., California
6545	January 2, 1934	Change of Name of Customs Port of Nyando, New York (Name Changed to Rooseveltown)

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6546	January 2, 1934	Withdrawing Public Lands for Cemetery Purposes, Alaska
6547	January 2, 1934	Veterans Regulation No. 2(b), Effective Date of Awards of Disability and Death Pensions; Provisions for Filing Claims; Review of Presumptive Claims by Special Review Boards
6548	January 3, 1934	Prohibiting the Further Obligation of Emergency Funds Prior to Approval of Estimates of Expenditures by Director of the Bureau of the Budget
6549	January 3, 1934	Providing for Audit of Accounts of Emergency Agencies
6549-A	January 4, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Wholesale Food & Grocery Trade
6550	January 6, 1934	Regulating the Further Allocation and Obligation of Emergency Funds (Requiring weekly report to Bureau of the Budget as to allocation of funds and obligations incurred)
6551	January 8, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6182 (as supplemented by Executive Order No. 6207 and Executive Order No. 6345) which delegated to the Secretary of Agriculture Certain Authority under the National Industrial Recovery Act (Transferring certain functions to Administrator of the National Recovery Administration)
6552	January 8, 1934	Modification of Executive Order of May 16, 1928, Creating Public Water Reserve No. 116, California
6553	January 9, 1934	Announcing the Index Figures for the Cost of Living for the Six Months' Periods Ending June 30, 1928 and December 31, 1933 (Percentage of reduction of Government Employees' salaries determined as 15%)
6554	January 10, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6440, of November 18, 1933 (Extending prescribed rates of compensation of Government Employees in certain emergency agencies to all emergency agencies)
6555	January 12, 1934	Waiver of Civil Service Rule II to Permit the Appointment of Mr. Robert K. McQueen in the War Department
6556	January 12, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6260 of August 28, 1933 (Acquisition of gold coin and gold bullion)
6557	January 12, 1934	Waiver of Civil Service Rule IX to Permit the Reinstatement of Mrs. Marie E. Summers in the Government Printing Office

Executive Orders

6557-A	January 12, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Wholesaling or Distributing Trade
6557-B	January 12, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Carpet and Rug Manufacturing Industry
6557-C	January 12, 1934	Approval of Code of Fair Competition for the Raw Peanut Milling Industry
6558	January 15, 1934	Relating to Receipt of Gold on Consignment by the Mints and Assay Offices
6559	January 15, 1934	Amending the Executive Order of March 10, 1933, and the Proclamation of December 30, 1933, Concerning the Operation of Banks (Removing restrictions upon transactions in foreign exchange)
6560	January 15, 1934	Regulating Transactions in Foreign Exchange Transfers of Credit, and the Export of Coin and Currency
6560-A	January 15, 1934	(Appointment of Mr. F. E. Berquist as a member of the National Bituminous Coal Industrial Board)
6560-B	January 15, 1934	(Appointment of Mr. John L. Lewis as a member of the National Bituminous Coal Industrial Board)
6561	January 16, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6433-A of November 17, 1933, and of Executive Order No. 6512 of December 16, 1933 (Deferring abolition of volunteer field agencies)
6562	January 18, 1934	Additional Compensation of Enlisted Men of the Army for Special Qualifications in the Use of Arms
6563	January 18, 1934	Revocation of Executive Order of February 23, 1932, Withdrawing Public Lands, New Mexico
6564	January 18, 1934	Revocation in Part of Executive Order of April 23, 1929, Withdrawing Public Lands, Wyoming
6564-A	January 18, 1934	Retirement of Alfred T. Burri, Foreign Service Officer
6565	January 19, 1934	Veterans Regulation No. 1(c), Entitlement to Pensions
6566	January 19, 1934	Veterans Regulation No. 6(b), Eligibility for Domiciliary or Hospital Care, Including Medical Treatment
6567	January 19, 1934	Veterans Regulation No. 9(b), Payment of Burial Expenses of Deceased War Veterans
6568	January 19, 1934	Veterans Regulation No. 10(c), Miscellaneous Provisions (Pensions to Government employees; renunciation of right to pensions)
6569	January 20, 1934	Complaints Charging the Pursuit of Monopolistic Practices (Transfer of Complaints to Federal Trade Commission)

Executive Orders

6570	January 20, 1934	Restoring to the Territory of Hawaii a part of the Schofield Barracks Military Reservation
6571	January 23, 1934	Authorizing the Relief of Certain Medical and Dental Officers of the Navy from Duty with the Civilian Conservation Corps
6572	January 24, 1934	Revocation of Executive Order of March 30, 1932, Withdrawing Public Lands, New Mexico
6573	January 24, 1934	Revocation in Part of Executive Order No. 5836 of April 13, 1932, Withdrawing Public Lands, California and Nevada
6574	January 24, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands in Connection with Construction of Dam in the Columbia River Near Bonneville, Oregon, for Development of Power and Navigation: Projects Nos. 27 and 28, Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Oregon and Washington
6575	January 24, 1934	Revocation of Executive Order No. 6237 of July 28, 1933 (Revoking Allocation of funds for purchase of lands necessary for the completion of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park)
6575-A	January 24, 1934	Designation of and Authorization to the Secretary of State to Acquire and Dispose of Certain Property (Rio Grande Rectification)
6576	January 25, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6474 of December 4, 1933 (Amending Order Establishing Federal Alcohol Control Administration)
6577	January 25, 1934	Exemption of Carleton W. Sturtevant from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6577-A	January 31, 1934	Authorization to appoint Miss Will Harris
6578	January 31, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Construction Industry
6578-A	January 31, 1934	(Appointment of Mr. James H. Pierce to Membership on the National Bituminous Coal Industrial Board)
6579	February 1, 1934	Restoration to Entry of Certain Tracts of Land in Tongass National Forest, Alaska
6580	February 1, 1934	(Authorizing National Labor Board to conduct employee elections, certify results to employer, and determination of refusal to deal with employee representative to administrator for Industrial Recovery)
6581	February 2, 1934	Authorizing the Formation of a Banking Corporation to be Known as Export-Import Bank of Washington

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6582	February 3, 1934	Establishing Killcohook Migratory Bird Refuge, New Jersey and Delaware
6583	February 2, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands to Aid the State in Making Exchange Selections, New Mexico
6584	February 6, 1934	Interdepartmental Transfer of Lands on Sand and Quarantine Islands, Territory of Hawaii
6585	February 6, 1934	Deferring Effective Date of Section 18 of Executive Order No. 6166 of June 10, 1933
6586	February 6, 1934	Revocation of Section 18 of Executive Order No. 6166 of June 10, 1933
6587	February 6, 1934	Public Grazing Withdrawal No. 4, Utah
6588	February 6, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Use of the War Department, California
6589	February 6, 1934	Amendment of Section 7 of Executive Order No. 3434, as Amended, Relating to Licensing of Motor Vehicles in the Canal Zone
6590	February 8, 1934	Coal-Land Restoration, New Mexico No. 52
6590-A	February 8, 1934	Delegation of Authority to Administrator for Industrial Recovery to Prescribe Rules and Regulations (governing amendments to, modifications of, exceptions to, exemptions from, stays of, and other forms of relief from, codes of fair competition)
6590-B	February 8, 1934	Delegation of Authority to Administrator for Industrial Recovery to Prescribe Rules and Regulations, etc. (requiring persons subject to codes of fair competition to post or display the terms and provisions of said codes)
6591	February 9, 1934	Transportation of Air Mail During Emergency Created by Annulment of Domestic Air Mail Contracts
6592	February 9, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Land Pending Legislation, Oregon
6593	February 9, 1934	Authorizing the Beet Sugar Committee to Accept the Voluntary Services of W. Lewis Abbott
6594	February 9, 1934	Transferring to the Control and Jurisdiction of the Treasury Department a Portion of the Site of the Naval Reservation, Ediz Hook, Port Angeles, Washington
6595	February 9, 1934	Authorizing the Director of the United States Employment Service to Accept Certain Voluntary Services
6596	February 9, 1934	Authorizing Willis R. Gregg to Act as Secretary of Agriculture
6597	February 10, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Chemical Manufacturing Industry

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6598	February 10, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Pleating, Stitching and Bonnaz and Hand Embroidery Industry
6599	February 10, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Gray Iron Foundry Industry
6600	February 10, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Trucking Industry
6601	February 14, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Retail Solid Fuel Industry
6601-A	February 14, 1934	Increasing the Membership of the Board of Trustees of Export-Import Bank of Washington
6602	February 15, 1934	Allocation of Funds to the Federal Civil Works Administration (\$450,000,000)
6603	February 15, 1934	Allocation of Funds to the Federal Relief Administration (\$500,000,000)
6603-A	February 15, 1934	Authorization of Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives to inspect Tax Returns
6604	February 16, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Soil Classification, Nebraska and South Dakota
6604-A	February 16, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Laundry Trade
6604-B	February 16, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Restaurant Industry
6605	February 17, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 4728 Relating to Commutation of Rations and Quarters to Enlisted Men
6606	February 17, 1934	Veterans Regulation No. 2(c), Effective Dates of Awards of Disability and Death Pensions; Provisions for Filing Claims; Review of Presumptive Claims by Special Review Boards
6606-A	February 17, 1934	Supplement to and Amplification of Executive Order No. 6355 of October 23, 1933 (Effect of Codes on Cooperatives)
6606-B	February 17, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Graphic Arts Industries
6606-C	February 17, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Advertising Distributing Trade
6606-D	February 17, 1934	Supplementary Code of Fair Competition for the General Contractors Industry, A Division of the Construction Industry
6606-E	February 17, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Electrotyping and Stereotyping Industry
6606-F	February 17, 1934	Prescribing Rules and Regulations for the Interpretation and Application of Certain Labor Provisions of Codes of Fair Competition as they may affect Handicapped Workers

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6606-G	February 17, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Daily Newspaper Publishing Business
6607	February 20, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Land for Forest Fire Look-out Site, California
6608	February 20, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 3761 Relating to Interest on Deposit Money Order (Canal Zone)
6609	February 21, 1934	Exemption of John Bach from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6610	February 21, 1934	Exemption of C. Frank Wittenauer from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6611	February 22, 1934	Transfer of the Bureau of Mines from the Department of Commerce to the Department of the Interior
6612	February 22, 1934	Revocation of Executive Order of June 19, 1923, establishing certain procedure relative to classification of Army Officers
6612-A	February 23, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6580 of February 1, 1934 (National Labor Board findings as to collective bargaining; report to Attorney General, etc.)
6613	February 24, 1934	Revocation of Executive Order of June 18, 1931, Withdrawing Public Lands, Colorado
6613-A	February 24, 1934	(Amendment to Code of Fair Competition for the Graphic Arts Industry and Code of Fair Competition for the Daily Newspaper Publishing Business)
6614	February 26, 1934	Transfer of Functions of the War Department Pertaining to National Cemeteries and Memorials in Europe to the American Battle Monuments Commission
6615	February 26, 1934	Exemption of Jacob L. Nuber from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6616	February 26, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for use as an addition to the Cordova Aviation Landing Field, Alaska
6617	February 26, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Use in Connection with Walker River Indian Irrigation Project, Nevada
6618	February 26, 1934	Public Water Reserve No. 154, Oregon
6619	February 26, 1934	Public Water Reserve No. 153, Arizona, Utah, and Wyoming
6620	February 26, 1934	Public Water Restoration No. 77, Wyoming
6620-A	February 26, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Fishery Industry
6620-B	February 26, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Hotel Industry, Modification of Executive Order of November 17, 1933 (Modification of Order approving Code)

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6621	February 28, 1934	Placing Certain Government Property under the control and Jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior, Virgin Islands
6622	March 1, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6440 of November 18, 1933, as amended by Executive Order No. 6554 of January 10, 1934 (excluding Federal Civil Works Administration employees from established rates of compensation for employees of emergency agencies)
6623	March 1, 1934	Establishment of the Federal Employment Stabilization Office in the Department of Commerce, etc.
6624	March 1, 1934	Deferring effective date of Abolishment of Federal Employment Stabilization Board
6625	March 5, 1934	Appointment to the Special Board for Public Works (Rear Admiral Christian Joy Peoples)
6626	March 5, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for use of the War Department, Alaska
6627	March 5, 1934	Modification of Executive Order of May 6, 1930, withdrawing Public Lands, Nevada
6628	March 5, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Land for use of the War Department, Washington
6629	March 5, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Classification, Louisiana and Mississippi
6630	March 6, 1934	Restoring to the Territory of Hawaii a Tract of Land for Road Purposes
6631	March 6, 1934	Waiver of Civil Service Rule II to permit the appointment of Mr. Robert H. Hartenberger and Mr. James B. Morgan, Jr., in the War Department
6631-A	March 6, 1934	Approval of Code of Fair Competition for the Anti-Hog Cholera Serum and Hog Cholera Virus Industry
6632	March 7, 1934	Creation of the National Recovery Review Board
6633	March 7, 1934	Waiver of Civil Service Rule II to permit the appointment of Mr. F. Harry Lewis in the Customs Service
6634	March 7, 1934	Lawrenceburg, Indiana, Designated as a Customs Port of Entry
6635	March 7, 1934	Wichita, Kansas, Abolished as a Customs Port of Entry
6636	March 8, 1934	Waiver of Regulations for appointment of unclassified Laborers to permit the appointment of Mrs. Marion Doody
6637	March 9, 1934	National Recovery Review Board (Allotment of Funds)
6638	March 9, 1934	Authorizing the Formation of a Banking Corpora-

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		tion to be known as Second Export-Import Bank of Washington, D. C.
6639	March 10, 1934	Consolidation of Executive Agencies engaged in the enforcement of the Internal Revenue Laws
6640	March 12, 1934	Supplementary Code of Fair Competition for the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry
6641	March 12, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Scrap Iron Non-ferrous Scrap Metals and Waste Materials Trade
6642	March 14, 1934	Revocation of Executive Order No. 5202 of October 7, 1929, Withdrawing Public Lands (California)
6643	March 14, 1934	Revocation in part of Executive Order No. 5836 of April 13, 1932, withdrawing Public Lands (California and Nevada)
6644	March 14, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (Colorado)
6645	March 14, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands to Provide Material for the Construction and Repair of Public Roads (South Dakota)
6646	March 14, 1934	Government Contracts and Contracts involving use of Government Funds (Requiring Code Compliance)
6647	March 17, 1934	Exemption of W. H. Moran from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6647-A	March 17, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Bowling and Billiard Operating Trade
6647-B	March 17, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Machinery and Allied Products Industry
6648	March 20, 1934	Approval of Code of Fair Competition for the Grain Exchanges and Members thereof
6649	March 23, 1934	Waiver of Civil Service Rule II to permit the appointment of Mrs. Elizabeth Bass in the Treasury Department
6650	March 23, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 5860 of June 22, 1932, Prescribing Rules governing the Granting and Issuing of Passports in the United States
6651	March 23, 1934	Establishing the Office of Special Adviser on Foreign Trade
6652	March 23, 1934	Amendments to Code of Fair Competition for Investment Bankers
6653	March 23, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Photographic and Photo Finishing Industry
6654	March 23, 1934	Amendments to the Code of Fair Competition for the Lumber and Timber Products Industries

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6655	March 27, 1934	Amendment of Schedule A, Subdivision VII of the Civil Service Rules (exempting two positions under the Post Office Department)
6656	March 27, 1934	Continuing the Functions of the Executive Committee on Commercial Policy
6657	March 27, 1934	Regulations for Payment of Losses sustained by Officers, Enlisted Men and Employees of the United States in Foreign Countries due to Appreciation of Foreign Currencies in their Relation to the American Dollar
6657-A	March 27, 1934	Regulations for Payment of Losses sustained by Officers, Enlisted Men and Employees of the United States in Foreign Countries due to Appreciation of Foreign Currencies in their Relation to the American Dollar
6658	March 27, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Shoe Rebuilding Trade
6659	March 27, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Infants' and Children's Wear Industry
6660	March 27, 1934	Authorizing the Heads of Departments, Independent Establishments, and Emergency Agencies to make certain Expenditures out of Allocations from the Appropriation for National Industrial Recovery
6661	March 27, 1934	Veterans Regulation No. 1(d), Entitlement to Pension
6662	March 27, 1934	Veterans Regulation No. 12(a), Presumption of Entitlement to Pensions for Spanish-War Veterans and Certain Widows, Children and Dependent Parents of Deceased World War Veterans
6663	March 31, 1934	Exemption of Luther L. Browning from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6664	March 31, 1934	Waiver of Civil Service Rule IX to permit the Reinstatement of Miss Irene C. Claveloux in the General Accounting Office
6665	March 31, 1934	Waiver of Civil Service Rule II to permit the appointment of Dr. John Bruce Arnold in the Treasury Department
6666	April 5, 1934	Revocation of Executive Order No. 4980, of October 20, 1928, withdrawing Public Lands (Colorado)
6667	April 5, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (Colorado)
6668	April 6, 1934	Veterans Regulation No. 1(e), Entitlement to Pension

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6669	April 6, 1934	Veterans Regulation No. 12(b), Presumption of Entitlement to Pensions for Spanish War Veterans and Certain Widows, Children and Dependent Parents of Deceased World War Veterans
6670	April 7, 1934	Transfers of Functions of the Veterans' Administration Pertaining to Civil Service Retirement Activities to the Civil Service Commission
6671	April 7, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (Arizona)
6672	April 7, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (Wyoming)
6673	April 9, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Classification (Oregon)
6674	April 13, 1934	Beaufort, South Carolina, abolished as a Customs Port of Entry
6675	April 13, 1934	Allowance to Rural carriers for Equipment Maintenance
6675-A	April 13, 1934	Approval of Code of Fair Competition for the Live Poultry Industry of the Metropolitan Area in and about the City of New York
6676	April 14, 1934	Amendment of Schedule B, Subdivision I, Paragraph 1, of the Civil Service Rules (Positions in the Indian service)
6677	April 14, 1934	Revocation in Part of Executive Order No. 5836 of April 13, 1932, Withdrawing public lands (California and Nevada)
6678	April 14, 1934	Making Provision for a clause in codes of Fair Competition Relating to Collection of Expenses of Code Administration
6678-A	April 14, 1934	Extension of the President's Reemployment Agreement
6679	April 16, 1934	Revocation of Executive Order No. 4810, of February 14, 1928, Withdrawing Public Land (Wyoming)
6680	April 17, 1934	Abolishment of the United States Geographic Board and transfer of its functions to the Department of the Interior
6681	April 17, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands pending Legislation (Oklahoma)
6682	April 17, 1934	Revocation in Part of Executive Order No. 5140 of June 20, 1929, withdrawing Public Lands pending Resurvey (Wyoming)
6683	April 19, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6474 of December 4, 1933, and of Executive Order No. 6576,

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		of January 25, 1934. (Altering membership of Federal Alcohol Control Administration)
6684	April 19, 1934	Authorizing the Purchase or Rental of Land for Emergency Conservation Work
6684-A	April 19, 1934	Compact of Fair Competition for the Prison Industries of the United States of America
6684-B	April 19, 1934	Agreement Among Tire Manufacturers and Distributors
6684-C	April 19, 1934	Supplementary Code of Fair Competition for the Electrical Contracting Division of the Construction Industry
6684-D	April 19, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Household Goods Storage and Moving Trade
6684-E	April 19, 1934	Supplementary Code of Fair Competition for the Mason Contractors Division of the Construction Industry
6684-F	April 19, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Barber Shop Trade
6685	April 20, 1934	Amendments to the Code of Fair Competition for the Distilled Spirits Rectifying Industry
6686	April 20, 1934	Approval of Code of Fair Competition for the Linseed Oil Manufacturing Industry
6686-A	April 21, 1934	Authorization to appoint Miss Helen Woodrow Bones
6687	April 23, 1934	Exemption of Charles H. Deetz from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6688	April 23, 1934	Exemption of John L. Crone from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6689	April 24, 1934	Transfer of Funds to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration from funds Allocated to the Federal Civil Works Administration
6690	April 25, 1934	Deferring Effective Date of Executive Order No. 6614, of February 26, 1934 (transfer of certain functions of War Department to American Battle Monuments Commission)
6691	April 25, 1934	Authorization of the Postmaster General to submit the name of Robert Shultice for nomination as Postmaster
6692	April 27, 1934	Establishing a more appropriate seal for the Department of Justice
6693	April 28, 1934	Creation of the Committee on National Land Problems
6694	May 1, 1934	Abolishment of the Office of the Alien Property Custodian and Transfer of its functions to the Department of Justice

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6694-A	May 1, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Retail Rubber Tire and Battery Trade
6695	May 2, 1934	Veterans Regulation No. 9(c), Payment of Burial Expenses of Deceased War Veterans
6696	May 2, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (California)
6697	May 2, 1934	Establishing Railroad Valley Migratory Bird Refuge (Nevada)
6698	May 2, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Land for Lookout Station (California)
6699	May 3, 1934	Changes in Boundaries of Internal Revenue Collection Districts (Illinois)
6700	May 4, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6225, of July 27, 1933, Establishing the Central Statistical Board
6701	May 7, 1934	Authorization to Appoint Mrs. Elizabeth W. Herde
6702	May 7, 1934	Exemption of Herman M. Underwood from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6703	May 7, 1934	Exemption of Theodore A. Hostetler from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6704	May 8, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Land for Lookout Station (Washington)
6705	May 8, 1934	Approval of Code of Fair Competition for the Country Grain Elevator Industry of the United States
6706	May 9, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Land for Lookout Station (California)
6707	May 9, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Land in Connection with Fort Peck Dam, Federal Project No. 30, Federal Emergency Public Works Administration (Montana)
6708	May 11, 1934	Authorizing and directing John Dickinson, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, to perform the duties of the Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, in case of absence, resignation, etc., of the Director of said Bureau
6709	May 14, 1934	Making Certain Funds Available to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration for the Fiscal Year 1934
6710	May 15, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6354 of October 23, 1933, Prescribing Rules and Regulations under the National Industrial Recovery Act
6711	May 15, 1934	Prescribing a Regulation Prohibiting Dismissal of Employees for Reporting Alleged Violations of Codes of Fair Competition
6711-A	May 15, 1934	Prescribing Rules and Regulations for the Inter-

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		pretation and Application of Certain Labor Provisions of Codes of Fair Competition as They May Affect Certain Homeworkers
6711-B	May 15, 1934	Supplemental Code of Fair Competition for the Plumbing Contracting Division of the Construction Industry
6712	May 21, 1934	Authorization of Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives to Inspect Tax Returns
6713	May 21, 1934	Correction of Description of the Corundu Military Reservation (Canal Zone)
6713-A	May 22, 1934	Code of Labor Provisions for the Alcoholic Beverage Wholesale Industry
6714	May 23, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Lookout Station (California)
6715	May 23, 1934	Filing of Functional Organization Charts with the Director of the Bureau of the Budget
6716	May 23, 1934	Approval of Code of Fair Competition for the Feed Manufacturing Industry
6717	May 25, 1934	Exemption of Charles Y. Dixon from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6718	May 25, 1934	Making Additional Funds Available to the Central Statistical Board
6719	May 25, 1934	Modification of Executive Order No. 5082, of March 22, 1929, withdrawing Public Lands, Oregon
6720	May 25, 1934	Revocation in part of Executive Orders Nos. 5789 and 5792 of February 2, 1932, withdrawing Public Lands (California and Nevada)
6721	May 25, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Land for Lookout Station (California)
6722	May 26, 1934	Documents Required of Bona Fide Alien Seamen entering the United States
6723	May 26, 1934	(Suspending service trade or industry codes with exception of labor provisions)
6724	May 28, 1934	Authorizing the Purchase or Rental of Land for Emergency Conservation Work (To establish suitable refugees for migratory birds and other wild life and protection of lands from forest fires, floods, soil erosion, plant pests and disease)
6725	May 28, 1934	Appointment of Additional Members of the Science Advisory Board
6725-A	May 28, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Baking Industry
6726	May 29, 1934	Establishing the Division of Territories and Island Possessions in the Department of the Interior and Transferring thereto the functions of the Bureau

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of Insular Affairs, War Department, Pertaining to the Administration of the Government of Puerto Rico

6727	May 29, 1934	Postponement of Effective Date of Certain Provisions of Executive Order No. 6166 of June 10, 1933 (Government reorganization)
6728	May 29, 1934	Revocation in Part of Section 4 of Executive Order No. 6166 of June 10, 1933 (In so far as it is applicable to the disbursing functions under the jurisdiction of the War Department, the Navy Department [including the Marine Corps] and the Panama Canal, except those pertaining to departmental salaries and expenses in the District of Columbia)
6729	May 29, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Canning Industry
6730	May 30, 1934	Revised Code of Fair Competition of the Iron and Steel Industry
6731	June 5, 1934	Postponement of Effective Date of Transfer of functions of the Veterans' Administration pertaining to Civil Service Retirement to the Civil Service Commission
6731-A	June 6, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Construction Industry, Appointment of Chairman of National Construction Planning and Adjustment Board
6732	June 7, 1934	Amendment of Schedule A, Subdivision XXII of the Civil Service Rules, Adding Assistant Secretary, Federal Power Commission
6733	June 7, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Land for Classification (Mississippi)
6733-A	June 7, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Bottled Soft Drink Industry
6734	June 8, 1934	Modification of Executive Order No. 4778 of December 5, 1927, Reserving Public Lands for Educational Purposes, Alaska
6734-A	June 9, 1934	Approval of Code of Fair Competition for the Wheat Flour Milling Industry
6735	June 11, 1934	Making Certain Funds Immediately Available to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration
6736	June 11, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Candy Manufacturing Industry
6737	June 14, 1934	Cancellation of Portion of Chapter I of the Instructions to Diplomatic Officers
6738	June 14, 1934	Exemption of Curtis F. Marbut from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6739	June 14, 1934	Revocation in Part of Executive Orders of February 8 and July 2, 1910, Creating Temporary Power-

Executive Orders

		Site Withdrawal No. 112 and Power-Site Reserve No. 112, Power-Site Restoration No. 479, Idaho
6740	June 15, 1934	Public Water Reserve No. 155, Utah and Wyoming
6741	June 15, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Lookout Stations (California)
6742	June 15, 1934	Authorization of Special Committee investigating the Munitions Industry, United States Senate, to Inspect Tax returns
6743	June 16, 1934	Modifying the Code of Fair Competition for the Baking Industry and the Order of Approval thereof
6744	June 19, 1934	Waiver of Civil Service Rule II to Permit Certain Appointments in the Treasury Department
6744-A	June 19, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Retail Tobacco Trade
6744-B	June 19, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Cigar Manufacturing Industry
6745	June 21, 1934	Impoundment of Vacancy Savings for the Fiscal Years 1934 and 1935
6746	June 21, 1934	Rates of Compensation of Government Employees in Emergency Agencies, Etc., not subject to the Classification Act as amended
6747	June 23, 1934	Allocating Fund to meet the Emergency and Necessity for Relief in Stricken Agricultural Areas
6748	June 26, 1934	(Creating the National Longshoremen's Labor Board and authorizing it to act in connection with the Longshoremen's strike on the Pacific Coast and Labor problems relating thereto)
6749	June 27, 1934	Allocation of Funds for Petroleum Administration
6750	June 27, 1934	Public Notice and Presentation of Views in connection with Foreign Trade Agreements
6750-A	June 27, 1934	Delegating further Functions and Powers to the Administrator for Industrial Recovery (Agreements with trades or industries in territories)
6750-B	June 27, 1934	Supplementary Code of Fair Competition for the Plastering and Lathing Contracting Division of the Construction Industry
6750-C	June 27, 1934	Prescribing Rules and Regulations for the Interpretation and Application of Certain Labor Provisions of Codes of Fair Competition as they may affect apprentice Training Programs in Industry
6751	June 28, 1934	Creation of National Steel Labor Relations Board and functions thereof
6752	June 28, 1934	Amendment of Schedule A, Subdivision XVIII in

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		the Civil Service Rules (Adding positions in National Soldiers' Home, Jackson City, Tenn.)
6753	June 28, 1934	Exemption of Mrs. Maud Brackett Pattin from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6754	June 28, 1934	Extension of Limits of Customs Port of Belfast, Maine
6755	June 28, 1934	Gastonia, North Carolina, Designated as a Customs Port of Entry
6756	June 28, 1934	Authorizing Appointments to Certain Emergency and Temporary Positions in the Treasury Department without regard to Civil Service Rules
6756-A	June 28, 1934	Local Codes for Uncodified Service Trades
6756-B	June 28, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Needlework Industry in Puerto Rico
6756-C	June 29, 1934	Approval of Code of Fair Competition for the Wholesale Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Distributive Industry
6756-D	June 29, 1934	Approval of Amendments to the Code of Fair Competition for the Distilled Spirits Industry
6756-E	June 29, 1934	Approval of Amendments to the Code of Fair Competition for the Distilled Spirits Rectifying Industry
6756-F	June 29, 1934	Approval of Amendments to the Code of Fair Competition for the Brewing Industry
6756-G	June 29, 1934	Approval of Amendments to the Code of Fair Competition for the Alcoholic Beverage Wholesale Industry
6757	June 29, 1934	Establishing the Committee on Economic Security and the Advisory Council on Economic Security
6758	June 29, 1934	Including Positions in the Farm Credit Administration in the Classified Civil Service
6759	June 29, 1934	Exemption of George E. Ladd from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6760	June 29, 1934	Revocation of Executive Order No. 2665, of July 17, 1917, withdrawing Public Lands (New Mexico)
6761	June 29, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Classification (Arkansas)
6762	June 29, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Land for Lookout Station (California)
6763	June 29, 1934	Creation of the National Labor Relations Board, etc.
6764	June 29, 1934	Delegating further Functions and Powers to the Secretary of Agriculture and to the Administrator for Industrial Recovery (Joint power to approve codes if not for major industries)

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6765	June 29, 1934	Allocation of Funds for an Addition to the Executive Office Building
6766	June 29, 1934	Allocation of Funds for Emergency Conservation Work in the Restoration, Improvement, and Development of Wild-Life Refuges
6767	June 29, 1934	Modification of Executive Order No. 6646 of March 14, 1934, etc. (Government contracts; compliance with code provisions; 15% price tolerance allowed from filed price schedules for purposes of bidding on Government contracts)
6768	June 29, 1934	Suspension of Construction of Aircraft and Engines in Government Plants
6769	June 30, 1934	Rental and Subsistence Allowances of Officers for Fiscal Year 1935
6770	June 30, 1934	Creating the Industrial Emergency Committee
6771	June 30, 1934	Abolishing the National Recovery Review Board
6772	June 30, 1934	Exemption of Appointment of Secretary to the Aviation Commission Created by the Act of June 12, 1934, Public No. 308 — 73d Congress
6773	June 30, 1934	Exemption of Carleton W. Sturtevant from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6774	June 30, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey, Washington
6775	June 30, 1934	Veterans Regulation No. 6(c), Eligibility for Domiciliary or Hospital Care, Including Medical Treatment
6776	June 30, 1934	Veterans Regulation No. 8(a), Yearly Renewable Term Insurance
6777	June 30, 1934	National Resources Board (Establishment and Functions)
6778	June 30, 1934	Delegation of Authority to the Chairman of and Director for the Federal Alcohol Control Administration
6779	June 30, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 3513 of July 9, 1921, Relating to Applications for Submarine Cable Licenses
6780	June 30, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6657-A Dated March 27, 1934 (Amending regulations for payment of losses sustained by officers and employees of the United States in foreign countries due to appreciation of foreign currencies in their relation to the American dollar)
6781	June 30, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (Arizona)
6782	June 30, 1934	Public Water Restoration No. 78 (Montana)
6783	June 30, 1934	Creation of the Quetico-Superior Committee

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6784	June 30, 1934	Placing Outside the Classified Civil Service Positions Created under the Act of March 21, 1934, Establishing the District of Columbia-Virginia Boundary Commission
6785	June 30, 1934	Delegation of Authority to the Secretary of the Interior under Section 9 of the National Industrial Recovery Act
6786	June 30, 1934	Transfer of Lands from the Klamath National Forest to the Shasta National Forest, California
6787	June 30, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6208, of July 21, 1933, entitled "Purchase of Forest Lands for Emergency Conservation Work"
6788	June 30, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6474 of December 4, 1933, of Executive Order No. 6576 of January 25, 1934, and of Executive Order No. 6683 of April 19, 1934 (Altering membership of Federal Alcohol Control Administration)
6789	June 30, 1934	Authorizing the Alaska Railroad to Engage in Coastwise and Ocean Transportation
6790	June 30, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Auction and Loose-Leaf Tobacco Warehouse Industry
6791	July 6, 1934	Announcing the Index Figures for the Cost of Living for the 6 months' Periods Ending June 30, 1928, and June 30, 1934 (Percentage of reduction of Government employees' salary determined as 5%)
6792	July 11, 1934	Directing the Postmaster General to Investigate Foreign Air-Mail and Ocean-Mail Contracts made prior to June 16, 1933, and to make Recommendations to the President relative to the Modification or Cancellation thereof
6793	July 11, 1934	Allocating Funds for the Appropriation to meet the Emergency and Necessity for Relief in Stricken Agricultural Areas
6794	July 11, 1934	Approval of Amendments to the Code of Fair Competition for the Alcoholic Beverages Importing Industry
6795	July 26, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (Wyoming)
6796	July 27, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Flood Control (Utah)
6797	July 27, 1934	Withdrawal of Potash Lands (New Mexico)
6798	July 27, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Land for Lookout Station (California)
6799	July 27, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands (Colorado)

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6800	July 27, 1934	Restoration to Entry of Certain Tracts of Land in Tongass National Forest (Alaska)
6801	July 27, 1934	Designating the Honorable Felix Cordova Davilla as Acting Judge of the District Court of the United States for Puerto Rico
6801-A	July 27, 1934	Uinta National Forest, Utah (lands added)
6801-B	July 27, 1934	Wasatch National Forest, Utah (lands added)
6802	August 4, 1934	Revocation of Executive Order of January 31, 1899, as modified, withdrawing Public Land, and withdrawal of Such Land for Wild-Life Administrative Site, Alaska
6803	August 4, 1934	Revocation in part of Executive Order No. 5341, of May 2, 1930, withdrawing Public Lands, Arizona
6804	August 4, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for the use of the Department of Agriculture (Alaska)
6805	August 4, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Land for Administrative Purposes (California)
6806	August 4, 1934	Transfer of Lands from the Tusayan National Forest to the Kaibab National Forest (Arizona)
6807	August 4, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (New Mexico)
6808	August 4, 1934	Restoration of Entry of Land in Chugach National Forest (Alaska)
6809	August 4, 1934	Black Hills National Forest, South Dakota (lands added)
6810	August 4, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6657-A of March 27, 1934 (Amending regulations for payment of losses sustained by officers, etc., of the United States in foreign countries due to appreciation of foreign currencies in their relation to the American Dollar)
6810-A	August 4, 1934	Amendment of Instruction to Diplomatic Officers and of Consular Regulations
6811	August 4, 1934	Approval of Amendment to the Code of Fair Competition for the Distilled Spirits Industry
6812	August 4, 1934	Approval of Amendment to the Code of Fair Competition for the Distilled Spirits Rectifying Industry
6813	August 4, 1934	Approving Agreement between Mason Contractors and their Employees in and about New York City
6814	August 9, 1934	Requiring the Delivery of Silver to the United States Mints (effects all silver in the continental United States, excepting silver falling within listed exceptions; provides for coinage with deductions for seigniorage, brassage, other mint charges, etc.)

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6815	August 10, 1934	Public Water Reserve No. 156, Idaho, New Mexico and Wyoming
6816	August 10, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Land for Administrative Site (Idaho)
6817	August 10, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Land for Administrative Site (Idaho)
6818	August 10, 1934	Partial Revocation of Executive Order No. 1222 of July 1, 1910, withdrawing Public Lands (Arizona)
6819	August 11, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands in Connection with waterworks projects, City of Rawlins (Wyoming)
6820	August 11, 1934	Allocation of Funds for the Control of the Infestation of the Japanese Beetle at St. Louis, Missouri
6821	August 11, 1934	Exemption of Ingild Povelsen from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6822	August 13, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Land for Administrative Purposes (California)
6823	August 16, 1934	Allocation of funds for the National Reemployment Service
6824	August 16, 1934	Waiving Provisions of Executive Order of January 17, 1873, Prohibiting Federal Officers and Employees from Holding State or Municipal Offices, as to Robert H. Jackson
6825	August 20, 1934	Exemption of C. Frank Wittenauer from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6826	August 21, 1934	(Order to place flags at half mast in honor of Henry T. Rainey, late Speaker of the House of Representatives)
6827	August 21, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Land for Use of the War Department and Partial Revocation of Executive Order No. 6626, of March 5, 1934, withdrawing Public Land (Alaska)
6828	August 21, 1934	Approving Amendments to Code of Fair Competition for the Cotton Garment Industry
6829	August 21, 1934	Delegating further Functions and Powers to the Federal Alcohol Control Administration (delegating powers as to Codes for industries engaged principally in production or distribution of alcoholic beverages)
6830	August 23, 1934	Authorization to appoint Fred W. Beltz
6831	August 23, 1934	Mahukona, Hawaii, designated as a Customs Port of Entry
6832	August 23, 1934	Making Funds available for Expenses of the National Railroad Adjustment Board
6833	August 28, 1934	Revocation of Executive Order No. 1512, of April

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- 1, 1912, withdrawing Public Lands and withdrawal of such Lands for Wild-life Administrative Site (Alaska)
- 6834 August 29, 1934 Exemption of Post Wheeler from Compulsory Retirement for Age
- 6835 August 29, 1934 Amendment of Schedule A, Subdivision VIII, of the Civil Service Rules (Six special agents of the Division of Investigations, Office of the Secretary of the Interior)
- 6836 August 31, 1934 Amending Executive Order No. 6770 of June 30, 1934, Creating the Industrial Emergency Committee
- 6837 August 31, 1934 Amendment to Code of Fair Competition for the Automobile Manufacturing Industry
- 6838 September 1, 1934 Authorizing Establishment of Special Reemployment List for Temporary Employments in the Bureau of the Census
- 6839 September 3, 1934 Direction to make Available to the Federal Trade Commission Information requested by it as to the Dairy Industry (To Department of Agriculture and Agricultural Adjustment Administration)
- 6840 September 5, 1934 Creation of the Board of Inquiry for the Cotton Textile Industry, etc.
- 6841 September 11, 1934 Withdrawal of Public Lands in connection with Fort Peck Dam, Federal Project No. 30, Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Montana
- 6842 September 11, 1934 Withdrawal of Public Land for Lookout Station (California)
- 6843 September 11, 1934 Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (California)
- 6844 September 11, 1934 Withdrawal of Public Land for Administrative Purposes and for Classification (California)
- 6845 September 11, 1934 Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey (Colorado)
- 6846 September 11, 1934 Revocation in part of Executive Order No. 5109 of May 13, 1929, Withdrawing Public Lands (Colorado)
- 6847 September 11, 1934 Exemption of John L. Summers from Compulsory Retirement for age
- 6847-A September 14, 1934 (Termination of stay of provisions of Section 1, Article IX of Code of Fair Competition for the Wheat Flour Milling Industry)
- 6848 September 15, 1934 Correction of Description and Relocation of Boundary of Fort William D. Davis Reservation, Canal Zone

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| 6849 | September 15, 1934 | Exclusion of Public Lands from Tongass National Forest (Alaska) |
| 6850 | September 18, 1934 | Amendment of Executive Order No. 6657-A Dated March 27, 1934 (Amending Regulations for payment of losses sustained by officers, etc., of the United States in foreign countries due to appreciation of foreign currencies in their relation to the American dollar) |
| 6851 | September 22, 1934 | Withdrawal of Public Land for use of the War Department (Idaho) |
| 6852 | September 22, 1934 | Revocation in Part of Executive Order No. 5862 of June 23, 1932, withdrawing Public Lands (Colorado) |
| 6853 | September 22, 1934 | Withdrawal of Public Lands for use in Connection with Duck Valley Indian Irrigation Project (Nevada) |
| 6854 | September 22, 1934 | Waiving the Age Limits for Civil Service Examinations in Certain Cases (Prohibition Bureau and Alcohol Beverage Unit, Department of Justice) |
| 6855 | September 25, 1934 | Amendment to the Code of Fair Competition for the Petroleum Industry |
| 6856 | September 25, 1934 | Revocation in Part of Executive Orders of March 1, 1912, and November 22, 1924, Creating Power-Site Reserves Nos. 242 and 759, Respectively, in Power-Site Restoration No. 480, Arizona |
| 6857 | September 25, 1934 | Exemption of Herman M. Underwood from Compulsory Retirement for Age |
| 6858 | September 26, 1934 | Creation of the Textile Labor Relations Board, etc. |
| 6859 | September 27, 1934 | Creating the National Industrial Recovery Board |
| 6860 | September 27, 1934 | Amending Executive Order No. 6770, which created the Industrial Emergency Committee |
| 6860-A | September 27, 1934 | Approving Agreement between Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and their Painter Employees in and about Philadelphia, Pa., a Division of the Construction Industry |
| 6861 | September 28, 1934 | Staying Certain Amendments to the Code of Fair Competition for the Cotton Garment Industry approved by Executive Order No. 6828 of August 21, 1934 |
| 6862 | September 30, 1934 | Exemption of George G. Hedgcock from Compulsory Retirement for Age |
| 6863 | October 3, 1934 | Withdrawal of Public Lands for Resurvey, New Mexico |

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6864	October 3, 1934	Exemption of Herman H. B. Meyer from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6865	October 4, 1934	Exemption of William McNeir from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6866	October 5, 1934	Amendment of Section 1 of Civil Service Rule VII (Certifications to be made without regard to sex unless sex is specified in the request)
6867	October 5, 1934	Public Water Reserve No. 157, California and Idaho
6868	October 9, 1934	Designating the Authority to carry out the Provisions of the District of Columbia Alley Dwelling Act
6869	October 10, 1934	Requiring certain Financial Statements to be furnished the Secretary of the Treasury (by Federal Agencies)
6870	October 10, 1934	Authorization to appoint Mrs. Era I. Sexton
6870-A	October 11, 1934	Code of Fair Competition for the Needlework Industry in Puerto Rico
6871	October 12, 1934	Concerning Amendments to the Code of Fair Competition for the Cotton Garment Industry approved by Executive Order No. 6828, August 21, 1934
6872	October 12, 1934	Authorization to Appoint George S. Ridner
6873	October 16, 1934	Exemption of James S. Goldsmith from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6874	October 16, 1934	Amendment of Subdivision VII, Schedule A, of the Civil Service Rules (Temporary Clerks, etc., in Postal Service)
6875	October 16, 1934	Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Silk Textile Industry
6876	October 16, 1934	Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Cotton Textile Industry
6877	October 16, 1934	Creating Wool Textile Work Assignment Board, etc.
6878	October 16, 1934	Rules and Regulations for the Cotton, Silk, and Wool Textile Work Assignment Boards
6879	October 17, 1934	Approving Agreement between Members of the Division of the Plumbing Contracting Division of the Construction Industry and Certain of their Employees in and about Denver, Colorado, Division of the Construction Industry
6880	October 22, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6657-A, Dated March 27, 1934. (Amending regulations for payment of losses sustained by officers, etc. of the United States in foreign countries due to appre-

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		ciation of foreign currencies in their relation to the American dollar)
6881	October 22, 1934	Transfer of Lands from the Cochetopa to the Gunnison National Forest, and from the Gunnison to the Cochetopa National Forest, Colorado
6882	October 22, 1934	Transfer of Lands from the Tusayan to the Prescott National Forest and from the Prescott to the Tonto National Forest (Arizona)
6883	October 22, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for National Park Classification (Florida)
6883-A	October 22, 1934	Approving Agreement between Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and Certain of their Employees in the region of Wilmington, Delaware and its Metropolitan District. A Division of the Construction Industry
6883-B	October 22, 1934	Approving Agreement between Members of the Division of the Electrical Contracting Division of the Construction Industry and Certain of their Employees in Cook County, Illinois
6884	October 23, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Classification (North Dakota)
6885	October 23, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order of August 25, 1892, as Amended, Prescribing Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Army and Navy General Hospital, Hot Springs, Arkansas
6885-A	October 25, 1934	Amended Code of Fair Competition for the Builders Supplies Trade
6886	October 27, 1934	Transfer of Lands from the Nicolet National Forest to the Chequamegon National Forest, Wisconsin
6887	October 29, 1934	Placing certain Government Property under the Control and Jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior (Virgin Islands)
6888	October 29, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Classification (South Dakota)
6889	October 29, 1934	Transfer of Lands from the Selway National Forest to other National Forests in the State of Idaho
6889-A	October 29, 1934	Consolidating the Executive Council and the National Emergency Council
6890	October 30, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Land as Archaeological Investigation Site (Alaska)
6891	October 30, 1934	Revocation in Part of Executive Order No. 6065, of March 3, 1933, Reserving Public Lands (Arizona)

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6892	October 30, 1934	Amendment of Schedule A of the Civil Service Rules (National Railroad Adjustment Board, private secretaries)
6892-A	October 30, 1934	Approving Agreement between members of the Division of the Electrical Contracting Division of the Construction Industry and certain of their employees in the region of Detroit, Michigan and its Metropolitan District. A division of the Construction Industry
6893	October 31, 1934	Exemption of James P. Fenton from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6894	November 1, 1934	Authorization to appoint Mrs. Helen K. Stebbins
6895	November 2, 1934	Amendment to Code of Fair Competition for the Automobile Manufacturing Industry
6895-A	November 2, 1934	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6814 of August 9, 1934 (Silver not required to be delivered to the United States mints)
6896	November 7, 1934	Transferring to the Control and Jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Navy Certain Lands of the Southern Coast of California (California)
6897	November 7, 1934	Transferring to the Control and Jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Navy Certain Lands off the Southern Coast of California (California)
6898	November 8, 1934	Authorizing appointments to certain positions in the Department of Agriculture without regard to Civil Service Rules
6899	November 8, 1934	Exemption of Thomas M. Thurston from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6900	November 8, 1934	Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Wine Industry
6901	November 13, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Land for Wild-Life Administrative Site (Alaska)
6902	November 13, 1934	Withdrawal of Public Land as a Source of Material for the construction and maintenance of Public Highways (Idaho)
6903	November 14, 1934	Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Alcoholic Beverages Importing Industry
6904	November 15, 1934	Approving Agreement between Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and their Journeyman Painter, Paperhanger and Decorator Employees in the Region of Omaha, Nebraska and Council Bluffs, Iowa and vicinity — Division of the Construction Industry

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| 6905 | November 15, 1934 | Appointment of a Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, etc. (Francis I. Biddle) |
| 6906 | November 19, 1934 | Appointment of Colonel Frank P. Douglas as a member of the Textile Labor Relations Board |
| 6907 | November 19, 1934 | Making Funds available to the Federal Coordinator of Transportation from the Appropriation for National Industrial Recovery |
| 6908 | November 21, 1934 | Withdrawal of Public Lands Pending Legislation (Alaska) |
| 6909 | November 21, 1934 | Withdrawal of Public Lands for use in connection with a Grazing Project (South Dakota) |
| 6910 | November 26, 1934 | Withdrawal for Classification of all Public Land in certain States (Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Wyoming) |
| 6910-A | December 1, 1934 | Purchase of Forest Lands for Emergency Conservation Work |
| 6910-B | December 1, 1934 | Allocating Funds from the Appropriation to meet the Emergency and Necessity for Relief in Stricken Agricultural Areas |
| 6911 | December 3, 1934 | Authorizing an Appointment in the Department of Commerce without regard to Civil Service Rules (Director of Navigation and Steamboat Inspection may appoint one private secretary) |
| 6912 | December 3, 1934 | Withdrawal of Public Land for Classification (Arkansas) |
| 6913 | December 4, 1934 | Rules governing the obtaining of Narcotic Drugs and Preparations by Qualified Persons in the Virgin Islands from Manufacturers and Wholesale Dealers in the United States |
| 6914 | December 6, 1934 | Exemption of Carl F. Jeansen from Compulsory Retirement for Age |
| 6915 | December 6, 1934 | Changes in the Membership of the National Longshoremen's Labor Board |
| 6916 | December 7, 1934 | Amendment of Civil Service Labor Regulation VIII to permit Reinstatement without time limit in certain cases |
| 6917 | December 11, 1934 | Creating a Body Corporate to be known as Federal Prison Industries, Inc. |
| 6918 | December 12, 1934 | Amendment of Executive Order No. 3206, of December 30, 1919, creating the Board of Surveys and Maps (Adds Tennessee Valley Authority to Membership) |
| 6919 | December 12, 1934 | Exemption of T. Warren Allen from Compulsory Retirement for Age |

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| 6920 | December 13, 1934 | Excusing Federal Employees from Duty at 1 P.M. on December 24 and at 1 P.M. on December 31, 1934 |
| 6920-A | December 14, 1934 | Dismissal of Complaint under Section 3(e) of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act with respect to Imports of Menthol |
| 6920-B | December 14, 1934 | Dismissal of Complaint under Section 3(e) of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act with respect to Imports of Quebracho Tanning Extract |
| 6920-C | December 14, 1934 | Approving Agreement between Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and Painter, Paperhanger and Decorator Employees in the Township of Greenwich, Connecticut, excepting that Portion of East Port Chester lying West of a Line drawn through Byram Road running South from North Water Street to Byram Park |
| 6921 | December 15, 1934 | Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Brewing Industry |
| 6922 | December 15, 1934 | Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Alcoholic Beverage Wholesale Industry |
| 6923 | December 18, 1934 | Exclusion of Lands from the Harney National Forest (South Dakota) |
| 6924 | December 18, 1934 | Establishment of Lake Mattamuskee Wild-Life Refuge (North Carolina) |
| 6925 | December 18, 1934 | Restoration to Entry of Certain Tracts of Land in Tongass National Forest (Alaska) |
| 6925-A | December 19, 1934 | Canceling Order approving Code for the Cinders, Ashes and Scavenger Trade |
| 6926 | December 20, 1934 | Extension of Trust Period on Indian Lands in Oklahoma expiring during the year 1935 |
| 6927 | December 21, 1934 | Postponement of Effective Date of certain Provisions of Executive Order No. 6166 of June 10, 1933 (Delaying effect of Section 4 relating to Disbursement Functions) |
| 6927-A | December 21, 1934 | Code of Fair Competition for the Retail Meat Trade |
| 6928 | December 24, 1934 | Amendment of Executive Order No. 6657-A of March 27, 1934, as amended (amending regulations for payment of losses sustained by officers, etc., of the United States in foreign countries due to appreciation of foreign currencies in their relation to the American dollar) |
| 6929 | December 26, 1934 | Delegating Certain Functions and Powers to the |

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		Federal Emergency Administrator of Public Works (to sell securities, etc., amend regulations)
6929-A	December 26, 1934	Approving Agreement between Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Deco- rating Division of the Construction Industry and Painter, Paperhanger and Decorator Employees in the Region of Dade County (Florida)
6930	December 27, 1934	Amending Executive Order No. 6878 providing Rules and Regulations for the Cotton, Silk and Wool Textile Work Assignment Boards
6931	December 27, 1934	Exemption of Thomas J. Brady from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6932	December 28, 1934	Exemption of Henry C. Stuart from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6933	December 28, 1934	Exemption of Mrs. Maud Brackett Pattin from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6934	December 29, 1934	Sioux City, Iowa, Abolished as a Customs Port of Entry
6935	December 29, 1934	Placing Certain Islands in the Pacific Ocean under the Control and Jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Navy (Wake Island, Kingman Reef, and John- ston and Sand Islands)
6935-A	December 29, 1934	Approving Agreement between Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Deco- rating Division of the Construction Industry and Painter Employees in the Region of St. Paul, Minne- sota and Vicinity
6936	January 4, 1935	Announcing the Index Figures for the Cost of Living for the 6 Months' Periods Ending June 30, 1928, and December 31, 1934 (Percentage of reduc- tion of government employees' salary determined as 5%)
6937	January 4, 1935	Authorization to appoint Mrs. Anna E. McGurty
6938	January 4, 1935	Modification of Executive Order No. 6910 of No- vember 26, 1934, withdrawing from Classification all Public Land in Certain States (Idaho)
6939	January 7, 1935	Extension of Trust Period on Allotments made to Indians of the Spokane Reservation (Washington)
6940	January 7, 1935	Extension of Trust Period on Lands of the Pala Band of Mission Indians (California)
6941	January 8, 1935	Authorizing the Appointment of Mrs. Hannah Curtis in the Navy Department without regard to Civil Service Rules
6942	January 8, 1935	Amendments to the Consular Regulations

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6943	January 9, 1935	Revocation of Executive Order No. 5172 of August 9, 1929, withdrawing Public Lands (Montana)
6944	January 9, 1935	Transfer of Lands from the Uinta National Forest to the Wasatch National Forest (Utah)
6945	January 10, 1935	Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Distilled Spirits Rectifying Industry
6945-A	January 10, 1935	Approving Agreement between Members of the Division of the Plastering and Lathing Contracting Division of the Construction Industry and certain of their Employees in the region of Dallas County, Texas
6946	January 11, 1935	Withdrawal of Public Land for Wild-Life Administrative Site (Alaska)
6946-A	January 11, 1935	Approving Agreement between Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and Painter, Paperhanger and Decorator Employees in the region of Passaic and Bergen Counties, State of New Jersey
6947	January 12, 1935	Authorizing the Appointment of Mrs. Carmer B. Knox in the Post Office Department without regard to Civil Service Rules
6947-A	January 16, 1935	Approving Agreement between Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and Painter, Paperhanger and Decorator Employees in the Region of Concord, New Hampshire
6948	January 17, 1935	Changing Location of Right-of-way between Round Top and Sugar Loaf Military Reservations, Hawaii
6948-A	January 18, 1935	Code of Fair Competition for the Motor Vehicle Maintenance Trade
6948-B	January 19, 1935	Approving Agreement between Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and Journeyman Painter, Paperhanger and Decorator Employees in the Region of all of Utah, Salt Lake, Davis, Weber and Cache Counties, and all of that Portion of Boxelder County East of a certain Range of Mountains known as the Blue Springs Hills all in the State of Utah
6949	January 22, 1935	Non-Waiver of Constitutional Rights by approving, assenting to, or cooperating under Codes of Fair Competition
6949-A	January 22, 1935	Approving Agreement between Members of the Division of the Mason Contractors Division of the

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		Construction Industry and Bricklayer and Stone Mason Employees in certain listed Counties in the State of Oklahoma
6950	January 23, 1935	Extension of Period of Eligibility for Appointment as Officers in the Foreign Service
6951	January 24, 1935	Authorizing the Appointment of Mrs. Myrtle K. Brockway to a Clerical Position in the General Accounting Office without regard to Civil Service Rules
6952	January 24, 1935	Transfer of Funds to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration from Funds allocated to the Federal Civil Works Administration
6952-A	January 24, 1935	Code of Fair Competition for the Auto Rebuilding and Refinishing Trade
6953	January 25, 1935	Exempting Certain Positions in certain Emergency Agencies from Salary Classification
6953-A	January 28, 1935	Approving Agreement between Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and Painter, Paperhanger and Decorator Employees in the Region of Wheeling, West Virginia and Vicinity
6953-B	January 29, 1935	Approving Agreement between Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and Painter, Paperhanger and Decorator Employees in the Region of the County of Natrona, State of Wyoming
6954	January 31, 1935	Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Distilled Spirits Rectifying Industry
6955	January 31, 1935	Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Automobile Manufacturing Industry
6955-A	February 1, 1935	Amending Executive Order No. 6877 Providing Rules and Regulations for the Administration of Paragraph 2, of Section II of the Wool Textile Code
6956	February 4, 1935	Amending Executive Order No. 6917 of December 11, 1934, creating Federal Prison Industries, Inc.
6957	February 4, 1935	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Classification and in Aid of Legislation (Alaska)
6958	February 4, 1935	Withdrawal of Public Lands for use of the Department of the Navy (Nevada)
6959	February 4, 1935	Restoration to entry of Certain Tracts of Land in Tongass National Forest (Alaska)

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6960	February 4, 1935	Enlarging Killcohook Migratory Bird Refuge (New Jersey)
6961	February 4, 1935	Extension of Trust Periods on Allotments made to Indians of the Klamath Reservation (Oregon)
6962	February 4, 1935	Extension of Trust Periods on Allotments made to Indians of the Colville Reservation (Washington)
6963	February 5, 1935	Veterans Regulation No. 10(d), Miscellaneous Provisions
6964	February 5, 1935	Withdrawal for Classification of all Public Land in Certain States (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Washington and Wisconsin)
6964-A	February 5, 1935	Approving Agreement between members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and Painter, Paperhanger and Decorator Employees in the region of Knox County, Indiana
6964-B	February 5, 1935	Code of Fair Competition for the Paper and Pulp Industry (Amendment to Article V)
6965	February 7, 1935	Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Brewing Industry
6966	February 8, 1935	Restoration to Entry of Certain Tracts of Land in the Chugach National Forest (Alaska)
6967	February 8, 1935	Veterans Regulation No. 1(f), Entitlement to Pensions
6967-A	February 8, 1935	Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Tile Contracting Division of the Construction Industry and Tile Layer, Helper and Apprentice Employees in the region included in Philadelphia, Delaware, Montgomery, Chester and part of Bucks Counties, in the State of Pennsylvania, and Camden, Gloucester and part of Burlington Counties, in the State of New Jersey
6968	February 9, 1935	Extension of Trust Period on Allotments made to Indians of the Crow Creek Band of Sioux (South Dakota)
6969	February 9, 1935	Code of Fair Competition for the Cigarette, Snuff, Chewing, and Smoking Tobacco Manufacturing Industry
6970	February 15, 1935	Amendment of Schedule A, Subdivision III, Paragraph 7, of the Civil Service Rules (regarding enumerated positions in the Public Health Service, Treasury Department)
6971	February 19, 1935	Modifying Executive Order No. 2295, of January

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		1, 1916, withdrawing Public Lands in Arizona for Rifle Range
6972	February 19, 1935	Revocation in Part of Executive Order No. 2539, of February 26, 1917, withdrawing Public Lands (Alaska)
6973	February 19, 1935	Withdrawal of Public Land for Wild-Life Administrative Site (Alaska)
6973-A	February 20, 1935	Dismissal of Complaint under Section 3(e) of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act with Respect to Imports, Legal and Illegal, of certain Watches, Watch Movements, and parts of Watch Movements
6973-B	February 20, 1935	Approving of Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and their Painter Employees in the region of the City of Rochester, Minnesota and vicinity
6974	February 21, 1935	Exemption of Jacob L. Nuber from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6974-A	February 21, 1935	Approving Agreement between Members of the Division of the Electrical Contracting Division of the Construction Industry and Electrician Employees in Multnomah, Clackamas and Washington Counties in the State of Oregon and Clark and Skamania Counties in the State of Washington
6975	February 26, 1935	Exemption of Charles J. James from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6976	February 26, 1935	Exemption of Joseph W. Austin from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6977	February 28, 1935	Revocation of Executive Order No. 5241, of December 16, 1929, withdrawing Public Lands (Colorado)
6978	February 28, 1935	Waiver of requirement of absolute appointment in the Bureau of Fisheries to permit the retransfer of Archibald Oden to the Navy Department
6979	February 28, 1935	Designating and Appointing the Secretary of the Interior as the Agent of the President to Execute Certain Powers and Functions Vested in the President by the Act of February 22, 1935, Public Number 14, 74th Congress entitled, "An Act to Regulate Interstate and Foreign Commerce in Petroleum and Its Products Produced in Violation of State Law, and for Other Purposes"
6980	March 1, 1935	Revocation in part of Executive Order No. 5790

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- of February 2, 1932, withdrawing Public Lands (New Mexico)
- 6980-A March 1, 1935 Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and certain of their employees in the region of the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx, State of New York
- 6980-B March 1, 1935 Regulations pursuant to "Connally Bill" and Executive Order No. 6979 (Act to regulate commerce in petroleum and products thereof)
- 6980-C March 1, 1935 East Texas Field a "Designated Area" — Federal Tender Board No. 1. Approval of Forms 1, 2, 3, 4, and A, B, C, D
- 6981 March 2, 1935 Removing, in certain cases, restrictions imposed by Public Resolution 53, of June 27, 1934, as to payments, transfers, and deliveries of property under the Trading with the Enemy Act and the Settlement of War Claims Act of 1928
- 6982 March 5, 1935 Restoration of Entry of Certain Tracts of Land Excluded from Tongass National Forest (Alaska)
- 6983 March 6, 1935 Authorizing and designating the Federal Emergency Administrator to acquire property for certain purposes (real or personal property in connection with the construction of projects financed by allocations, etc., to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration)
- 6984 March 7, 1935 Exemption of Luther L. Browning from Compulsory Retirement for Age
- 6984-A March 7, 1935 Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Electrical Contracting Division of the Construction Industry and their Electrician Employees in Allegheny County, and part of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania
- 6985 March 8, 1935 Exemption of Lyster H. Dewey from Compulsory Retirement for Age
- 6985-A March 8, 1935 Approving Agreement between Members of the Division of the Mason Contractors Division of the Construction Industry, and Bricklayer, Stone Mason, Bricklayers' Tender and Stone Masons' Helper Employees in the Region of St. Louis and Vicinity, all in the State of Missouri
- 6986 March 9, 1935 Documents Required of Aliens Entering the United States

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6987	March 9, 1935	Documents Required of Aliens Entering the Philippine Islands
6988	March 11, 1935	Dismissal of Complaint Under Section 3(e) of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act with Respect to Imports of Pearl Essence
6988-A	March 16, 1935	Supplementary Code of Fair Competition for the Highway Contractors Subdivision of the General Contractors Division of the Construction Industry, a subdivision of the Construction Industry
6989	March 19, 1935	Veterans Regulation No. 1(g), Entitlement to Pensions
6990	March 19, 1935	Veterans Regulation No. 2(d), Effective dates of Awards of Disability and Death Pensions; Provisions for Filing Claims, Review of Presumptive Claims by Special Review Boards
6991	March 19, 1935	Veterans Regulation No. 6(d) Eligibility for Domiciliary or Hospital Care, including Medical treatment
6992	March 19, 1935	Veterans Regulation No. 10(e), Miscellaneous Provisions
6992-A	March 20, 1935	Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and certain of their employees in the region of Erie County, including the City of North Tonawanda in Niagara County and the villages of Gowanda and Perrysburg in Cattaraugus County, State of New York
6992-B	March 20, 1935	Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and their Painter, Paperhanger and Decorator employees in the region of Cascade County, Montana
6993	March 21, 1935	Reconstituting the National Industrial Recovery Board
6994	March 21, 1935	Retirement of John A. Gamon, Foreign Service Officer
6995	March 21, 1935	Coal Land Restoration, Montana No. 90
6996	March 21, 1935	Coal Land Restoration, Wyoming No. 50
6996-A	March 22, 1935	Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and certain of their Employees in the region of Hill County, Montana

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6997	March 25, 1935	Prescribing Regulations Governing the Manufacture, Importation, and sale of Alcoholic Beverages in the Canal Zone
6998	March 30, 1935	Exemption of Harry O. Bailey from Compulsory Retirement for Age
6999	March 30, 1935	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6182 of June 26, 1933 (As amended by executive orders Nos. 6345 and 6551, transferring certain functions and powers of the Secretary of Agriculture concerning Codes of Fair Competition to the National Industrial Recovery Board)
7000	April 5, 1935	Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Distilled Spirits Industry
7001	April 5, 1935	Extension of Trust Periods on Allotments made to Indians of the Crow Reservation (Montana)
7002	April 5, 1935	Authorizing the appointment of Mrs. Mattie Lowe Sartor in the Post Office Department without regard to Civil Service Rules (Oklahoma City)
7003	April 8, 1935	Amendment Executive Order No. 6700, of May 4, 1934, Relating to the Central Statistical Board (authority, restrictions on, and salary of chairman)
7004	April 10, 1935	Changing Location of the Land Office for the Linkton Land District, Oregon
7005	April 10, 1935	Revocation of Executive Order No. 6832, of August 23, 1934, making funds available for expenses of the National Railroad Adjustment Board
7006	April 10, 1935	Exemption of David E. Roberts from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7007	April 10, 1935	Exemption of Hugh A. Morrison from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7008	April 10, 1935	Exemption of Milton L. Leffler from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7009	April 10, 1935	Extension of Trust Period on Lands of the Torres-Martinez Band of Mission Indians (California)
7010	April 10, 1935	Corrected Description of the Boundaries of the Waianae-Kai Military Reservation (Hawaii)
7010-A	April 10, 1935	Approving Agreement between employer members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and their employees in the State of California
7010-B	April 10, 1935	Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Plastering and Lathing Contracting Division of the Construction Industry and certain of their employees in the State of California

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- 7010-C April 10, 1935 Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and their Painter, Paperhanger and Decorator employees in the region of the entire State of Rhode Island
- 7010-D April 10, 1935 Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and their Painter, Paperhanger and Decorator Employees in the region of Otsego County, New York
- 7010-E April 10, 1935 Approving Modification to Agreement between employer members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and certain of their employees in the region of Omaha, Nebraska, Council Bluffs, Iowa, and vicinity
- 7010-F April 10, 1935 Approving Agreement between employer members of the Division of the Electrical Contracting Division of the Construction Industry and certain of their employees in the region of Miami and part of Dade County, Florida
- 7010-G April 10, 1935 Approving Agreement between employer members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and decorating Division of the Construction Industry and Painter, Paperhanger and Decorator Employees in the region of Colorado Springs, Ivywild, Broadmoor, Roswell, Ramona and Manitou, all in the State of Colorado
- 7010-H April 11, 1935 Dismissal of Complaint Under Section 3(e) of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act with respect to Imports of Pig Iron
- 7010-I April 12, 1935 Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and certain of their employees in the region of Rochester, New York and vicinity
- 7011 April 15, 1935 Authorizing the Appointment of Mrs. Anna Jewell Murray to a Clerical Position in the Treasury Department without regard to Civil Service Rules
- 7012 April 15, 1935 Amendment of Instructions to Diplomatic Officers and of Consular Regulations
- 7013 April 16, 1935 Amendment of Instructions to Diplomatic Officers and of Consular Regulations

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7014	April 19, 1935	Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Alcoholic Beverage Wholesale Industry
7015	April 19, 1935	Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Alcoholic Beverage Wholesale Industry
7016	April 19, 1935	Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Alcoholic Beverage Importing Industry
7017	April 19, 1935	Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Distilled Spirits Rectifying Industry
7018	April 19, 1935	Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Distilled Spirits Industry
7019	April 19, 1935	Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Brewing Industry
7020	April 19, 1935	Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Wine Industry
7021	April 19, 1935	Authorizing the Governor of the Panama Canal to arrange for the Operation by the Panama Railroad Company of Panama Canal Piers
7022	April 20, 1935	Amending Code of Fair Competition for the Distilled Spirits Rectifying Industry
7023	April 22, 1935	Establishing Red Rock Lakes Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (Montana)
7024	April 22, 1935	Restoring certain Lands to the Territory of Hawaii
7024-A	April 24, 1935	Appointment of Frank C. Walker as Executive Director of the National Emergency Council
7024-B	April 25, 1935	Order under Act of February 22, 1935 (regulating Interstate and Foreign commerce in petroleum and its products produced in violation of State law)
7025	April 29, 1935	Appointment of Charles Edison as a Member of the National Industrial Recovery Board
7025-A	April 29, 1935	Supplementary Code of Fair Competition for the Heavy Construction and Railroad Contractors Subdivision of the General Contractors Division of the Construction Industry, a subdivision of the Construction Industry
7026	April 30, 1935	Withdrawal of Public Land for Lookout Station (California)
7027	April 30, 1935	Establishment of the Resettlement Administration. (Rexford G. Tugwell appointed Administrator; functions and duties prescribed; fund allocated)
7028	April 30, 1935	Transfer of certain property, functions, funds, etc., from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration to the Resettlement Administration
7029	April 30, 1935	Allocation of funds to the Department of Agriculture for Emergency Conservation of Work (\$400,000 allocated for carrying out work provided for

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- by Executive orders Nos. 6208, 6787, 6724, 6766; see these orders in this list)
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| 7030 | April 30, 1935 | Exemption of Charles H. Deetz from Compulsory Retirement for Age |
| 7031 | May 1, 1935 | Including positions in the United States Railroad Administration in the Classified Civil Service |
| 7032 | May 1, 1935 | Withdrawal of Lands for Lighthouse Purpose (Alaska) |
| 7033 | May 1, 1935 | Modification of Boundaries of Cibola National Forest (New Mexico) |
| 7033-A | May 1, 1935 | Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Tile Contracting Division of the Construction Industry and their Tile Setter Employees in the region included in certain Counties of Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia |
| 7034 | May 6, 1935 | Establishing the Division of Applications and Information, the Advisory Committee on Allotments, the Works Progress Administration and for other purposes |
| 7035 | May 6, 1935 | Establishing Goat Island Migratory Bird Refuge, Oregon |
| 7035-A | May 7, 1935 | Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and certain of their Employees in the region of Montclair, Bloomfield and vicinity in the State of New Jersey |
| 7035-B | May 7, 1935 | Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and their Painter, Paperhanger and Decorator Employees in the region of Smith, Upshur, Rusk, Henderson, Wood, Gregg, Cherokee, Anderson and Van Zandt counties in the State of Texas |
| 7035-C | May 7, 1935 | Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and their Painter, Paperhanger and Decorator Employees in the region of Center and certain portions of Clearfield counties, State of Pennsylvania |
| 7035-D | May 7, 1935 | Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and their Painter, Paperhanger and Decorator Em- |

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		ployees in the region of the City and County of Denver, Colorado and vicinity
7036	May 8, 1935	Extension of Trust Periods on Allotments made to Indians of the Yakima Reservation (Washington)
7036-A	May 9, 1935	Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and certain of their Employees in the region of Hamilton County, Ohio and Kenton and Campbell counties, Kentucky
7036-B	May 9, 1935	Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and certain of their Employees in the region of certain parts of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania
7036-C	May 9, 1935	Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and their Painter, Paperhanger and Decorator Employees in the region of Travis County, Texas
7036-D	May 10, 1935	Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Plumbing Contracting Division of the Construction Industry and certain of their Employees in the region of Calumet, Hobart, Ross, Center, Winfield, and Eagle Creek Townships of Lake County and all of Porter County, Indiana.
7037	May 11, 1935	Establishment of the Rural Electrification Administration (duties and functions prescribed; expense fund allocated)
7038	May 13, 1935	Modification of Executive Order No. 5327 of April 15, 1930, temporarily withdrawing oil-shale lands
7039	May 14, 1935	Authorization of Special Committee investigating the Munitions Industry, United States Senate, to inspect Income and Profits Tax Returns and Capital Stock Tax Returns
7040	May 15, 1935	Appointment of Executive Officer of the Rural Electrification Administration (Perry R. Taylor)
7041	May 15, 1935	Transfer of certain Property, Functions, Funds, etc., relating to Subsistence Homesteads, from the Secretary of the Interior to the Resettlement Administration
7042	May 15, 1935	Exemption of Benjamin A. Omohundro from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7043	May 15, 1935	Waiver of the Civil Service Rules to permit the

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		Reinstatement of Mrs. Fern A. Black to a clerical Position in the Los Angeles Post Office
7044	May 15, 1935	Revocation of Executive Order No. 7004 of April 10, 1935, changing Location of the Land Office for the Linkton Land District (Oregon)
7045	May 15, 1935	Withdrawal of Public Lands, California (Fire Look-out site — Trinity National Forest)
7046	May 20, 1935	Prescribing Rules and Regulations relating to Wages, Hours of Work, and Conditions of Employment under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, Regulation No. 1
7047	May 20, 1935	Modification of Executive Order No. 6957 of February 4, 1935, withdrawing Public Lands (Alaska)
7048	May 20, 1935	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6910, of November 26, 1934, withdrawing Public Lands in Certain States
7049	May 21, 1935	Transferring Control of Public Lands to the Secretary of the Interior (Alaska)
7050	May 21, 1935	Exemption of Charles Y. Dixon from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7051	May 21, 1935	Authorizing the Appointment of Guy C. Hanna to a Position in the Treasury Department without regard to Civil Service Rules
7052	May 21, 1935	Waiver of the Civil Service Rules to permit the Reinstatement of Mrs. May A. Dunn to a position in the General Accounting Office
7052-A	May 21, 1935	Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and certain of their employees in the Region of El Paso county, Texas
7052-B	May 21, 1935	Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry and certain of their Employees in the Region of Muscatine County, Iowa
7052-C	May 21, 1935	Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Plumbing Contracting Division of the Construction Industry and certain of their Employees in the region of Louisville, Kentucky and vicinity
7052-D	May 21, 1935	Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Painting, Paperhanging and Decorating Division of the Construction Industry

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		and certain of their Employees in the area of Cook County, Illinois
7053	May 23, 1935	Revocation in part of Executive Order No. 2242 of August 31, 1915, and withdrawal of the Lands released thereby for Town-Site purposes
7054	May 23, 1935	Exemption of Finis D. Morris from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7054-A	May 24, 1935	Approving Agreement between Employer Members of the Division of the Building Contractors Division, a subdivision of the General Contractors Division of the Construction Industry and certain of their Employees in the region of Bridgeport, Connecticut and vicinity
7055	May 28, 1935	Waiver of the Civil Service Rules to permit the appointment of Fred S. Gilbert to a position in the Custodial service of the Post Office Department
7056	May 28, 1935	Designating the Deputy Administrator, Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, as a member of the Advisory Committee on Allotments
7057	May 28, 1935	Establishment of the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration (Ernest H. Gruening appointed Administrator; functions and duties prescribed)
7058	May 29, 1935	Authorizing the Adoption of a seal for the Federal Housing Administration
7059	May 31, 1935	Revocation of Executive Order of February 1, 1906, reserving certain Land and Water Areas as a site for a Salmon Hatchery (Alaska)
7059-A	June 4, 1935	Changing the name of the Luquillo National Forest (Puerto Rico)
7060	June 5, 1935	Prescribing Rules and Regulations relating to Procedure for Employment of works under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, Regulation No. 2
7061	June 5, 1935	Retirement of Edwin Sheddan Cunningham, Foreign Service Officer
7062	June 5, 1935	Designation as Unhealthful of Certain Closed Posts in the Foreign Service
7063	June 5, 1935	Authority for the Extension of the Temporary Appointments of certain employees of the General Accounting Office (Paid from emergency funds)
7064	June 7, 1935	Authorizing the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works to continue to perform functions under Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act and to perform Functions under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935

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7065	June 7, 1935	Creating the National Resources Committee (designates membership and membership of advisory committee thereto; functions and duties prescribed)
7066	June 7, 1935	Revocation of Executive Order No. 5942 of October 29, 1932, withdrawing Public Lands (New Mexico)
7067	June 7, 1935	Orange, Texas, Abolished as a Customs Port of Entry
7068	June 8, 1935	Appointing Robert E. Wood, Edward O'Neal, George L. Berry, and Julien H. Hill as Members of the Advisory Committee on Allotments
7069	June 11, 1935	Power-Site Restoration No. 841, revoking in part the Executive Order of December 12, 1912, Creating Power-Site Reserve No. 325 (California)
7070	June 12, 1935	Regulations Governing Appointments of Employees from Emergency Funds
7071	June 12, 1935	Exemption of Oxni P. Hood from Compulsory Retirement for Age (Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior)
7072	June 12, 1935	Exemption of John V. Shea from Compulsory Retirement for Age (Division of Supply, Treasury Department)
7073	June 13, 1935	Reestablishing the National Emergency Council
7074	June 15, 1935	Reestablishing the National Labor Relations Board
7075	June 15, 1935	Terminating the National Industrial Recovery Board and Reorganizing the National Recovery Administration
7076	June 15, 1935	Continuing in effect Executive Orders issued under Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act and Extending the Existence of Agencies created by such Orders until April 1, 1936
7077	June 15, 1935	Postponement of Effective Date of Certain Provisions of Executive Order No. 6166 of June 10, 1933 (Reorganization of disbursement agencies)
7078	June 17, 1935	Revocation of Executive Order No. 3102, of June 27, 1919, withdrawing Public Lands (Colorado)
7079	June 17, 1935	Withdrawal of Public Lands for the use of Department of the Interior (Alaska)
7080	June 19, 1935	Exemption of Curtis F. Marbut from Compulsory Retirement for Age (Division of Soil Survey, Department of Agriculture)
7081	June 20, 1935	Revocation of Executive Order No. 6497 of December 15, 1933 (Excepting Executive Orders approving Codes of Fair Competition from the pro-

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		visions of Executive Order No. 6247, which required that all drafts be uniform as to form and style and be cleared through Department of Justice and Bureau of the Budget)
7082	June 22, 1935	Transfer of Lands from the Blackfeet National Forest to the Kootenai and Flathead National Forests in the State of Montana
7083	June 24, 1935	Prescribing Rules and Regulations relating to Methods of prosecuting Projects under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935
7084	June 24, 1935	Continuing the Textile Labor Relations Board until July 1, 1935
7085	June 24, 1935	Continuing the National Steel Labor Relations Board until July 1, 1935
7085-A	June 25, 1935	Revocation in part of Executive Orders No. 5836 of April 13, 1932, and No. 6113 of April 22, 1933, withdrawing Public Lands (California and Nevada)
7086	June 26, 1935	Establishment of the National Youth Administration within the Works Progress Administration
7087	June 27, 1935	Transfer of Lands from the Clearwater National Forest to the Lolo National Forest in the State of Idaho
7088	June 27, 1935	Tongass National Forest, Alaska (Lands Added)
7089	June 29, 1935	Extending the Textile Labor Relations Board (until further order)
7090	June 29, 1935	Extending the National Labor Relations Board (until August 1, 1935)
7091	June 29, 1935	Extending the National Steel Labor Relations Board (until further order)
7092	July 3, 1935	Rates of Compensation of Government Employees in Agencies established under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 (Giving heads of Emergency Agencies Power to choose between two Salary Schedules, that is, the Salary Schedule established by Executive Order 6746 or in accordance with Classification Act of 1923)
7093	July 8, 1935	Exemption of Benjamin F. Taylor from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7094	July 8, 1935	Exemption of Miss Jessie McL. Watson from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7095	July 8, 1935	Amendment of Schedule A, Subdivision I, Paragraph 7 of the Civil Service Rules (Positions of a Confidential Nature in the Philippine Islands when filled by United States Citizens)

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7096	July 9, 1935	Appointment of Members of the Executive Committee of the National Youth Administration
7097	July 9, 1935	Inspection of Income, Excess-Profits and Capital Stock Tax Returns (Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, United States Senate)
7098	July 12, 1935	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6910, of November 26, 1934, withdrawing Public Lands in Certain States (Nevada)
7099	July 12, 1935	Exemption of Charles Lee Cooke from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7100	July 15, 1935	Continuation of Science Advisory Board under the National Research Council
7100-A	July 15, 1935	Authorizing the appointment of Mrs. Ina E. Swartz to a Clerical Position in the Department of Agriculture without regard to Civil Service Rules
7101	July 16, 1935	Appointment of Charles W. Taussig as Chairman of the National Advisory Committee of the National Youth Administration
7102	July 18, 1935	Exempting Certain Positions from Salary Classification (Part-time positions paid from public-works fund, etc.)
7103	July 18, 1935	Amendment of Schedule A, Subdivision 1, Paragraph 6 of the Civil Service Rules. (Part-time employees receiving not more than \$540 per annum)
7104	July 18, 1935	Directing Executive Departments and other Establishments of the Government to cooperate with Foreign-Trade Zones Board
7105	July 18, 1935	Modification of Executive Order No. 6843 of September 11, 1934, to permit Forest Exchange (California)
7106	July 19, 1935	Establishing the Malheur Migratory Bird Refuge (Oregon)
7107	July 19, 1935	Exempting Certain Positions from Salary Classification (Part-time employees paid from Rural Electrification Administration Funds)
7108	July 19, 1935	Withdrawal of Public Land for Lookout Station (California)
7109	July 19, 1935	Waiver of Maximum Age Limit to permit William H. Klunk and William H. Bierhalter to compete in Civil Service Examinations
7110	July 22, 1935	Public Water Restoration No. 79, Montana
7111	July 22, 1935	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6981, of March 2, 1935 (Removing restrictions as to pay-

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		ments, transfers and deliveries of property under the Trading With the Enemy Act, etc.)
7112	July 24, 1935	Public Water Reserve No. 158, Montana
7113	July 25, 1935	Exemption of George E. Ladd from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7114	July 25, 1935	Modification of Executive Order No. 6910, of November 26, 1934, as amended, withdrawing Public Lands in certain States (Montana)
7115	July 25, 1935	Inspection of Income, Excess-Profits, and Capital Stock Tax Returns by the Special Committee to Investigate Lobbying Activities, United States Senate
7116	July 26, 1935	Enlarging Wichita National Game Preserve, Oklahoma
7117	July 29, 1935	Amending Executive Order No. 7046 of May 20, 1935, prescribing Rules and Regulations relating to Wages, Hours of Work and Conditions of Employment under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 .
7118	July 29, 1935	Correcting Description in Executive Order No. 7082, of June 22, 1935, Relating to Blackfeet National Forest, Montana
7119	July 30, 1935	Amending Executive Order No. 7046 of May 20, 1935, prescribing Rules and Regulations Relating to Wages, Hours of Work, and Conditions of Employment under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935
7120	July 30, 1935	Reorganizing the Consumers' Agencies within the National Emergency Council and the National Recovery Administration
7120-A	July 30, 1935	Exemption of William H. Nelson from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7121	July 31, 1935	Extending the National Labor Relations Board (until September 1, 1935)
7122	July 31, 1935	Exemption of Mrs. Frances N. Westcott from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7123	August 1, 1935	Appointing Members of the National Advisory Committee of the National Youth Administration
7124	August 5, 1935	Modification of Executive Order No. 7070, of June 12, 1935, Prescribing Regulations Governing Appointments of Employees Paid from Emergency Funds
7125	August 5, 1935	Amendment to Executive Order No. 7060 of June 5, 1935, Prescribing Rules and Regulations Relat-

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		ing to Procedure for Employment of Workers under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935
7126	August 5, 1935	Submission of Estimates to the Bureau of the Budget of Expenditures for Administrative Expenses in certain Cases
7126-A	August 5, 1935	Partial Revocation of Executive Order No. 7047, of May 20, 1935, Withdrawing Public Lands (Alaska)
7127	August 6, 1935	Transferring the Secretary of the Interior Control of Lands and Improvements in Certain Military Reservations (Alaska)
7128	August 6, 1935	Withdrawal of Public Lands (Alaska)
7129	August 6, 1935	Authorizing the Acquisition of Land on Isle Royale for Emergency Conservation Work
7129-A	August 6, 1935	(Requiring reports of loadings and discharges of petroleum and petroleum products in interstate commerce)
7130	August 7, 1935	Prescribing Rules and Regulations Relating to Approved Projects Administered and Supervised by the Rural Electrification Administration under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, Regulation No. 4
7131	August 7, 1935	Revocation in Part of Executive Order No. 4914 of June 23, 1928, Withdrawing Public Lands (Wyoming)
7132	August 7, 1935	Revocation in Part of Executive Order No. 5098, of April 23, 1929, Withdrawing Public Lands (Wyoming)
7133	August 7, 1935	Revocation of Executive Order No. 5729, of October 2, 1931, Withdrawing Public Lands (California)
7134	August 8, 1935	Excluding a Tract of Land from Chugach National Forest and Restoring it to Entry (Alaska)
7135	August 8, 1935	Withdrawal of Public Land for Radio State Site (Alaska)
7136	August 12, 1935	Coal Land Restoration, New Mexico, No. 53
7137	August 12, 1935	Amendment of Section 3 of Civil Service Rule II (appointment without Examination)
7138	August 12, 1935	Establishing Airspace Reservations over certain Military and Naval Reservations and other Areas
7139	August 12, 1935	Designating the Electric Home and Farm Authority, a Corporation Organized under the laws of

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		the District of Columbia, as an Agency of the United States
7140	August 13, 1935	Authorizing the Appointment of Mrs. Ruth Hampton as Assistant Director, Division of Territories and Island Possessions, without regard to Civil-Service Rules
7141	August 13, 1935	Designating the Honorable Harvey M. Hutchinson as Acting Judge of the District Court of the United States for Puerto Rico
7142	August 14, 1935	Establishing Valentine Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (Nebraska)
7143	August 19, 1935	Prescribing Rules and Regulations Governing the making of Loans by the Resettlement Administration under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, Regulation No. 5
7144	August 19, 1935	Exclusion of Land from Tongass National Forest (Alaska)
7145	August 19, 1935	Excluding Certain Tracts of Land from Tongass National Forest and Restoring them to Entry (Alaska)
7146	August 19, 1935	Modification of Executive Order No. 6910 of November 26, 1934, as Amended by Executive Order No. 7048, of May 20, 1935, withdrawing Public Lands in Certain States (California, Montana, Nevada)
7147	August 19, 1935	Revocation in part of Executive Order No. 5165, of July 26, 1929, withdrawing Public Lands (Colorado)
7148	August 19, 1935	Establishing Medicine Lake Migratory Waterfowl Refuge, Montana
7149	August 19, 1935	Requesting Executive Departments and other Agencies of the Government to Cooperate with the Committee on Interstate Commerce, United States Senate, in its Investigation pursuant to Senate Resolution No. 71, 74th Congress
7150	August 19, 1935	Amendment of Executive Order No. 7126 of August 5, 1935 (Extending effect to additional agencies of order requiring submission of estimates of expenditures to Bureau of the Budget)
7151	August 21, 1935	Establishing a Revolving Fund for the Centralized Purchase of Materials, Supplies, and Equipment under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935
7152	August 21, 1935	Administration of Relief, Work Relief, and Useful Projects for the Virgin Islands

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7153	August 21, 1935	Revocation of Executive Order No. 5681, of August 12, 1931, withdrawing Public Lands (California)
7154	August 22, 1935	Creating the Camden Board of Arbitration
7154-A	August 22, 1935	Establishing Des Lacs Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (North Dakota)
7155	August 23, 1935	Exemption of Wilbur John Carr from Compulsory Retirement for age
7156	August 23, 1935	Establishing Squaw Creek Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (Missouri)
7157	August 23, 1935	Prescribing Rules and Regulations Relating to Wages of Unattached Workers under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, Regulation No. 6
7158	August 23, 1935	Inspection of Income, Profits, and Capital-Stock Tax Returns by the Committee on Interstate Commerce, United States Senate
7158-A	August 23, 1935	Requiring Reports of Violations of the Eight-Hour Law (Public Works)
7159	August 24, 1935	Appointing Laurence J. Martin as Acting Administrator of the National Recovery Administration
7160	August 26, 1935	Establishing Lacreek Migratory Waterfowl Refuge, South Dakota
7161	August 27, 1935	Establishing Upper Souris Migratory Waterfowl Refuge, North Dakota
7162	August 27, 1935	Exemption of Daniel L. Hazard from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7163	August 29, 1935	Authorizing the Attorney General to Revoke certain Executive Allowance of Claims filed under Section 9 of the Trading with the Enemy Act, as amended, and directing him to Institute Suits for Recovery of Moneys and Properties paid and delivered thereunder
7164	August 29, 1935	Prescribing Rules and Regulations Relating to Student-Aid Projects and to Employment of Youth on other Projects under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, Regulation No. 7
7165	August 29, 1935	Preparation and Publicity of Written Decisions in Respect of Over-assessments of Income, Profits, Estate, and Gift Taxes Allowed in Excess of \$20,000
7166	August 29, 1935	Exemption of Miss Annie M. Travis from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7167	August 29, 1935	Exemption of Joseph L. Smith from Compulsory Retirement for Age

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7168	September 4, 1935	Establishing Arrow-Wood Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (North Dakota)
7169	September 4, 1935	Establishing Sand Lake Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (South Dakota)
7170	September 4, 1935	Establishing Lower Souris Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (North Dakota)
7171	September 4, 1935	Establishing Lostwood Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (North Dakota)
7172	September 4, 1935	Enlarging Red Rock Lakes Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (Montana)
7173	September 4, 1935	Establishing White River Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (Arkansas)
7174	September 4, 1935	Amendment of Executive Order No. 7126 of August 5, 1935 (extending effect to additional agencies of order requiring submission of estimates of expenditures to Bureau of the Budget)
7175	September 6, 1935	Revocation in Part of Executive Order No. 4624 of April 1, 1927, Withdrawing Public Lands (Colorado)
7176	September 6, 1935	Restoring Certain lands to the Territory of Hawaii
7177	September 6, 1935	Reservoir Site Restoration No. 12, California
7178	September 6, 1935	Establishing the Hart Mountain Game Range (Nevada and Oregon)
7179	September 6, 1935	Excluding Certain Lands from Tongass National Forest (Alaska)
7180	September 6, 1935	Prescribing Rules and Regulations Governing the Making of Loans by the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935
7181	September 6, 1935	Authorizing Initial Appointments to Certain Executive Positions in the Bureau of Motor Carriers of the Interstate Commerce Commission without compliance with the Civil Service Acts and Rules
7182	September 7, 1935	Amendment and Partial Revocation of Executive Order No. 7098, of July 12, 1935, Amending Executive Order No. 6910, of November 26, 1934, withdrawing Public Lands in Certain States
7183	September 12, 1935	Enlarging Crescent Lake Wild-life Refuge (Nebraska)
7183-A	September 12, 1935	Authorizing Construction of Bluestone Reservoir Project on New River (West Virginia)
7184	September 13, 1935	Exemption of James E. Ives from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7185	September 20, 1935	Addition to Upper Mississippi River Wild-life and Fish Refuge (Wisconsin)

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| 7186 | September 21, 1935 | Increasing the Limitation contained in clause (g) of Section 1 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935. (From \$900,000,000 to \$1,700,000,000) |
| 7187 | September 24, 1935 | Exemption of Albert S. Hitchcock from Compulsory Retirement for Age |
| 7188 | September 24, 1935 | Exemption of Miss Mary M. O'Reilly from Compulsory Retirement for Age |
| 7189 | September 25, 1935 | Excluding a Tract of Land from Chugach National Forest and Restoring it to Entry (Alaska) |
| 7190 | September 25, 1935 | Amendment of Executive Order No. 7129, of August 6, 1935, Authorizing the Acquisition of Land on Isle Royale for Emergency Conservation Work |
| 7191 | September 25, 1935 | Excluding Certain Tracts of Land from Tongass National Forest and Restoring them to Entry (Alaska) |
| 7192 | September 26, 1935 | Delegating Authority to the Federal Trade Commission to approve certain trade Practice Provisions |
| 7193 | September 26, 1935 | Designating George L. Berry as Coordinator for Industrial Cooperation |
| 7194 | September 26, 1935 | Establishment of the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration |
| 7195 | September 26, 1935 | Including in the Competitive Classified Civil Service the Position of Junior Assistant to Technician in the Administration of the Civilian Conservation Corps |
| 7196 | September 26, 1935 | Exemption of Wendell W. Mischler from Compulsory Retirement for Age |
| 7197 | September 26, 1935 | Modification of Executive Order No. 7070 of June 12, 1935, Prescribing Regulations Governing Appointments of Employees Paid from Emergency Funds |
| 7198 | September 26, 1935 | Designation of Under Secretary to be Acting Secretary of the Interior |
| 7199 | September 26, 1935 | Designation of John Monroe Johnson as Acting Secretary of Commerce under certain Conditions |
| 7200 | September 26, 1935 | Amending Executive Order No. 7027 of April 30, 1935, Establishing the Resettlement Administration |
| 7201 | September 26, 1935 | Authorization to Appoint Walter D. Humphrey et al. (positions in Federal Communications Commission) |
| 7202 | September 28, 1935 | Appointment of Members of the Prison Industries Organization Board |
| 7203 | October 1, 1935 | Amending Executive Order No. 7046 of May 20, 1935, Prescribing Rules and Regulations Relating to Wages, Hours of Work, and Conditions of Em- |

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		ployment Under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 (Schedule of monthly earnings applicable to any county or township)
7204	October 1, 1935	Amending Executive Order No. 7046 of May 20, 1935, Prescribing Rules and Regulations Relating to Wages, Hours of Work and Conditions of Employment under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 (Deductions from monthly earnings of workers receiving board and lodging in camps maintained at site of project)
7205	October 14, 1935	Exemption of William McNeir from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7206	October 14, 1935	Extension of Trust Periods on Indian Lands in Oklahoma
7207	October 14, 1935	Amendment to Executive Order No. 6783 of June 30, 1934, Creating the Quetico Superior Committee
7208	October 19, 1935	Exemption of George G. Hedgcock from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7209	October 17, 1935	Amendment of Paragraph 6, Subdivision VII, Schedule A, of the Civil Service Rules (Temporary clerks, etc., in the Postal Service)
7210	October 24, 1935	Amendment of Schedule A, Civil Service Rules (Junior Messengers and Under Clerks in office of the United States High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands)
7211	October 24, 1935	Modification of Executive Order No. 6910 of November 26, 1934, as amended, withdrawing Public Lands in certain States (Idaho, Utah)
7212	October 24, 1935	Addition to Upper Mississippi River Wild-Life and Fish Refuge, Minnesota and Wisconsin
7213	October 24, 1935	Enforcement of the Northern Pacific Halibut Act (Designation of Coast Guard Vessels)
7214	October 24, 1935	Establishing Muleshoe Migratory Waterfowl Refuge, Texas
7215	October 26, 1935	Interchange of Certain Property between the War and Navy Departments, California, Hawaii and District of Columbia
7216	October 28, 1935	Waiver of Civil Service Rules to permit the Appointment of Mrs. Ella W. Budge to a Position in the Bureau of Public Roads, Department of Agriculture
7217	October 30, 1935	Exemption of Carleton W. Sturtevant from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7218	October 30, 1935	Revocation in part of Executive Order No. 5862

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		of June 23, 1932, withdrawing Public Lands (Colorado)
7219	October 30, 1935	Modifying Executive Order No. 1919½, of April 21, 1914, and setting apart Certain Lands for use as an Airport (Alaska)
7220	October 30, 1935	Withdrawal of Public Land for Powder Storage Site (California)
7221	October 31, 1935	Establishing Rice Lake Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (Minnesota)
7221-A	October 31, 1935	Exemption of Miss Caledonia McCall from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7222	November 1, 1935	Enlarging St. Marks Migratory Bird Refuge (Florida)
7223	November 9, 1935	Amendment of Executive Order No. 7195 of September 26, 1935, including in the Competitive Classified Civil Service in the Positions of Junior Assistant to Technician in the Administration of the Civilian Conservation Corps
7224	November 13, 1935	Amendment to Executive Order No. 4728, as amended, Relating to Commutation of Rations and Quarters to Enlisted Men
7224-A	November 14, 1935	Documents Required of Aliens Entering the Philippine Islands
7225	November 15, 1935	Authorizing Procurement Officers and Employees of the Treasury Department to certify certain vouchers
7226	November 15, 1935	Amending Executive Order No. 7046 of May 20, 1935, Prescribing Rules and Regulations Relating to Wages, Hours of Work and Conditions of Employment under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935
7227	November 18, 1935	Revocation of Executive Order No. 5640 of June 8, 1931, withdrawing Public Lands (California)
7228	November 18, 1935	Application of the Civil-Service Rules and Regulations to the National Training School for Boys
7229	November 19, 1935	Establishing Delta Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (Louisiana)
7230	November 20, 1935	Exemption of Davis B. Lewis from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7231	November 20, 1935	Authorizing the appointment of William J. Shaw to the Position of Inspector of Customs without regard to Civil Service Rules
7232	November 23, 1935	Exemption of Frederick D. Henry from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7233	November 23, 1935	Regulations Governing Investigations under Sec-

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		tion 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as amended
7234	November 25, 1935	Deposit Money Orders issued by the Canal Zone Postal Service (Regulations Governing)
7235	November 26, 1935	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6910, of November 26, 1934, as amended, withdrawing Public Lands in certain States (Sale or lease of withdrawn lands authorized)
7236	November 27, 1935	Charlotte, North Carolina; Little Rock, Arkansas; and Dubuque, Iowa, abolished as Customs Ports of Entry
7237	November 27, 1935	Amendment of Schedule A, Subdivision VIII, of the Civil Service Rules (Temporary emergency employees of the National Park Service)
7238	November 28, 1935	Further exemption of Thomas M. Thurston from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7239	December 3, 1935	Transfer of Records and Property of the Railroad Retirement Board
7240	December 4, 1935	Revocation of Executive Order No. 5958, of December 8, 1932, withdrawing Public Lands (Arizona)
7241	December 4, 1935	Amendment of Schedule A, Subdivision III, Paragraph 14, of the Civil Service Rules (Temporary employees for the Internal Revenue Service and the Bureau of Narcotics)
7242	December 6, 1935	Highways, Vehicles, and Vehicular Traffic in the Canal Zone (Regulations governing)
7243	December 6, 1935	Authorizing the Appointment of Herbert J. Wollner to a Position in the Treasury Department without regard to Civil Service Rules
7244	December 10, 1935	Revocation of Executive Orders Nos. 6268 and 6496, dated September 6, 1933, and December 14, 1933, respectively, withdrawing Public Lands (New Mexico)
7245	December 10, 1935	Establishing Waubay Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (South Dakota)
7246	December 10, 1935	Establishing Seney Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (Michigan)
7247	December 10, 1935	Exemption of Nelson H. Darton from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7248	December 10, 1935	Exemption of Andre Fourchy from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7249	December 12, 1935	Excusing Federal Employees from Duty at 1 P. M. on December 24 and 31, 1935

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7250	December 16, 1935	Exemption of T. Warren Allen from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7251	December 19, 1935	Assignment of Frequencies to Government Radio Stations
7252	December 21, 1935	Terminating the National Recovery Administration and transferring certain Agencies and Functions thereof to the Departments of Commerce and Labor
7253	December 21, 1935	Allocation of Funds to the Secretary of the Interior for the Acquisition and Development of a Historic Site to be known as the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial
7254	December 21, 1935	Excluding a certain Tract of Land from Tongass National Forest and Restoring it to Entry (Alaska)
7255	December 21, 1935	Exemption of Elton A. Gongwer from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7256	December 21, 1935	Modification of Executive Order No. 6910 of November 26, 1934, as amended, withdrawing Public Lands in certain States (Oregon)
7257	December 26, 1935	Amendment of Paragraph 9, Subdivision I, Schedule A of Civil Service Rules (Positions in Alaska)
7258	December 28, 1935	Exemption of Irvin P. Disney from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7259	December 28, 1935	Authorizing the Appointment of Frank P. Fallowfield to a Position as Engineer in the Office of the Chief of Engineers, War Department, without regard to Civil Service Rules
7260	December 31, 1935	Continuing the functions of the Executive Committee on Commercial Policy and Defining its Membership
7261	December 31, 1935	Postponement of Effective Date of Certain Provisions of Executive Order No. 6166 of June 10, 1933 (Delaying effect of Section 4 relating to Disbursement Functions until June 30, 1936)
7261-A	December 31, 1935	Amendment to the Instructions to Diplomatic Officers of the United States (Hostesses in Missions)
7262	January 4, 1936	Amendment to Executive Order No. 3206 of December 30, 1919, establishing the Board of Surveys and Maps
7263	January 4, 1936	Designating the Secretary of the Treasury to Act in respect of Interest or Claims of the United States
7264	January 4, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 5807, of February 25, 1932, withdrawing Public Lands (Colorado)
7265	January 4, 1936	Modification of Executive Order of December 11,

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		1912, withdrawing Public Lands as Power-Site Reserve No. 322 (California)
7266	January 4, 1936	Modification of Executive Order No. 6910 of November 26, 1934, as amended, withdrawing Public Lands in certain States (Wyoming)
7267	January 6, 1936	Modification of Executive Order No. 6910 of November 26, 1934, as amended, withdrawing Public Lands in certain States (Montana, Nevada, Wyoming)
7268	January 6, 1936	Designation of Coast Guard Vessels for Special Winter Cruising
7269	January 7, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 6287 of September 14, 1933, withdrawing Public Lands (New Mexico)
7270	January 7, 1936	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Lookout Stations (Oregon)
7271	January 9, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 5354 of May 27, 1930, withdrawing Public Lands (Wyoming)
7272	January 10, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 5297 of March 10, 1930, withdrawing Public Lands (Colorado)
7273	January 10, 1936	Exemption of Benjamin W. Kumler from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7274	January 14, 1936	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6910, of November 26, 1934, as amended, withdrawing Public Lands in certain States
7275	January 15, 1936	Revocation in part of Executive Order No. 5603 of April 20, 1931, withdrawing Public Lands (Wyoming)
7276	January 17, 1936	Authorizing the Appointment of Lewis R. Barrett to the position of Recreation Coordinator, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, without regard to Civil Service Rules
7277	January 17, 1936	Designation of Under Secretary, First Assistant Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the Interior to act as Secretary of the Interior
7278	January 23, 1936	Exemption of William H. Ramsey from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7279	January 25, 1936	Revocation in part of Executive Order No. 5341 of May 2, 1930, withdrawing Public Lands (Arizona)
7280	January 28, 1936	Evidencing, Validating, and Confirming the creation of the Federal Housing Administration
7280-A	February 1, 1936	Revocation in part of Executive Order No. 4608 of March 10, 1927, withdrawing Public Lands (Wyoming)

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7280-B	February 1, 1936	Revocation in part of Executive Order No. 5687 of August 18, 1931, withdrawing Public Lands (Wyoming)
7281	February 3, 1936	Designating the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System
7282	February 3, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 5920, of September 15, 1932, withdrawing Public Lands (New Mexico)
7283	February 3, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 5682 of August 12, 1931, withdrawing Public Lands (New Mexico)
7284	February 3, 1936	Revocation in part of Executive Order No. 6076 of March 15, 1933, withdrawing Public Lands (New Mexico)
7284-A	February 6, 1936	Revocation in part of Executive Order No. 5886 of July 12, 1932, withdrawing Public Lands (Wyoming)
7284-B	February 6, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 5709, of September 11, 1931, withdrawing Public Lands (California)
7285	February 7, 1936	Prescribing the Official Flag of the Vice President of the United States
7286	February 8, 1936	Exemption of Charles Holzman from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7287	February 10, 1936	Selection of Members of the Central Statistical Board
7288	February 11, 1936	Transferring to the Control and Jurisdiction of the Treasury Department a portion of the site of the Mayaguez Barracks Military Reservation at Mayaguez, Puerto Rico
7289	February 14, 1936	Modification of Executive Order No. 6910 of November 26, 1934, as amended, withdrawing Public Lands in certain States (California)
7290	February 14, 1936	Partial Revocation of Executive Order No. 5790 of February 2, 1932, withdrawing Public Lands (New Mexico)
7291	February 14, 1936	Exemption of Charles J. Evans from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7292	February 14, 1936	Establishing Lake Andes Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (South Dakota)
7293	February 14, 1936	Regulations Governing the Granting of Allowances for Quarters and Subsistence to Enlisted Men
7294	February 14, 1936	Waiver of the Time Limit provided in Civil Service Rule IX to permit the Reinstatement in the Postal Service of Mrs. Nell J. Kline

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7295	February 14, 1936	Establishing Lake Bowdoin Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (Montana)
7296	February 15, 1936	Amending Executive Order No. 7046 of May 20, 1935, prescribing Rules and Regulations relating to wages, hours of work and conditions of employment under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 (Requiring that all lost time of workers shall be made up)
7297	February 16, 1936	To Provide for the Protection and Preservation of the Domestic Sources of Tin
7298	February 18, 1936	Regulations Governing the Preparation, Presentation, Filing and Distribution of Executive Orders and Proclamations
7299	February 20, 1936	Placing Kure (Ocean) Island, Territory of Hawaii, under the control and jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Navy. Kure (Ocean) Island, Territory of Hawaii
7300	February 21, 1936	Exemption of Henry C. Stuart from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7301	February 21, 1936	Enlarging Niobrara Reservation (Nebraska)
7302	February 21, 1936	Transferring Certain Lands to the Control and Jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Navy (Virgin Islands)
7303	February 25, 1936	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Lookout Station (Oregon)
7304	February 27, 1936	Appointment of Collectors of Cotton Statistics
7305	February 28, 1936	Allocating Funds to the Farm Credit Administration and prescribing Rules and Regulations for the Making of Emergency Crop Loans under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935
7306	February 28, 1936	Authorizing the Appointment of Mrs. Hilda McTeer to a position in the Classified Service of the Government without regard to Civil Service Rules
7307	February 28, 1936	Exemption of Luther L. Browning from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7308	February 28, 1936	Exemption of Carl F. Jeansen from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7309	February 28, 1936	Withdrawal of Public Land in Aid of Legislation (Alaska)
7310	February 28, 1936	Exemption of W. H. Moran from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7311	February 29, 1936	Partial Revocation of Executive Order No. 6964 of February 5, 1935, withdrawing Public Lands in certain States (Arkansas)
7312	March 9, 1936	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6928 of De-

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- 7313 March 10, 1936 Revoking Executive Order of July 26, 1905, and excluding certain tracts of Land from Tongass National Forest and restoring them to entry (Alaska)
- 7314 March 11, 1936 Exemption of Miss Mary G. Wilmarth from Compulsory Retirement for Age
- 7315 March 11, 1936 Exemption of William Gerig from Compulsory Retirement for Age
- 7316 March 13, 1936 Enlarging Cape Romain Migratory Bird Refuge (South Carolina)
- 7317 March 14, 1936 Exemption of Milton L. Leffler from Compulsory Retirement for Age
- 7318 March 18, 1936 Authorizing the Appointment of Louis Hunter Gwinn to the Position of Customs Agent without regard to Civil Service Rules
- 7319 March 18, 1936 Amendment of Executive Order No. 7164 of August 29, 1935, Prescribing Rules and Regulations relating to Student-Aid Projects and to Employment of Youth on other Projects under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 (Definition of Student-Aid Project)
- 7320 March 19, 1936 Establishing Kellys Slough Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (North Dakota)
- 7321 March 21, 1936 Authorizing Issuance of Temporary Regulations Governing Annual and Sick Leave (Federal Employees)
- 7322 March 21, 1936 Authorization of Managers on the Part of the House of Representatives in the Impeachment of Judge Halsted L. Ritter to Inspect Tax Returns
- 7323 March 21, 1936 Creating a Committee to Complete the Summary of the Results and Accomplishments of the National Recovery Administration and Report Thereon (Committee of Industrial analysis; Division of Industrial Economics created in Department of Commerce)
- 7324 March 30, 1936 Designating George L. Berry as Coordinator for Industrial Cooperation
- 7325 March 30, 1936 Partial Revocation of Executive Order No. 1967-A of June 23, 1914, and Reservation of the Lands

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		released thereby for Townsite Entry under the Act of March 3, 1891 (Alaska)
7326	March 30, 1936	Partial Revocation of Executive Order No. 5862 of June 23, 1932, withdrawing Public Lands (Colorado)
7327	March 30, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 6077 of March 15, 1933, withdrawing Public Lands, New Mexico
7328	March 30, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 6267 of September 6, 1933, withdrawing Public Lands (New Mexico)
7329	March 30, 1936	Authorizing the Acquisition of Land near Petersburg, Virginia, for Emergency Conservation Work
7330	March 30, 1936	Modification of Executive Order No. 6910 of November 26, 1934, as amended, withdrawing Public Lands in Certain States (California)
7331	April 3, 1936	Withdrawal of Public Lands in connection with Fort Peck Dam, Federal Project No. 30, Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works (Montana)
7332	April 3, 1936	Amendment of the Executive Order of January 17, 1873, Relating to the Holding of State or Local Offices by Federal Officers and Employees (National Park Service employees may accept appointments as deputy Sheriffs)
7333	April 3, 1936	Modification of Executive Order No. 7070 of June 12, 1935, Prescribing Regulations Governing Appointments of Employees Paid from Emergency Funds (transfer of persons employed in part time positions)
7334	April 3, 1936	Increasing the Limitation contained in Clause (f) of Section 1 of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 (Increasing from \$600,000,000 to \$700,000,000 amount available for Civilian Conservation Corps)
7335	April 3, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 5287 of February 25, 1930, withdrawing Public Lands (Nevada)
7336	April 9, 1936	Exemption of Frank Hahn from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7337	April 9, 1936	Modification of Executive Order No. 6910 of November 26, 1934, as amended, withdrawing Public Lands in Certain States (Oregon)
7338	April 10, 1936	Designating the Honorable Martin Travieso as Acting Judge of the District Court of the United States for Puerto Rico

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7339	April 10, 1936	Withdrawal of Public Land for Use of the Reindeer Service (Alaska)
7340	April 10, 1936	Authorizing the Adoption of a Seal for the Works Progress Administration
7341	April 10, 1936	Enlarging Tule Lake Wild-life Refuge (California)
7342	April 10, 1936	Authorizing Initial Appointments to certain Executive Positions in the Railroad Retirement Board without compliance with the Civil Service Act and Rules
7343	April 10, 1936	Power Site Restoration No. 482, Revoking in part the Executive Order of July 26, 1911, creating Power Site Reserve No. 191 (Utah)
7344	April 11, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 5791 of February 2, 1932, withdrawing Public Lands (Colorado)
7345	April 15, 1936	Authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to acquire Land for Wild-life Conservation Purposes
7346	April 15, 1936	Authorizing the Appointment of William J. Butler to the Position of Park Ranger, National Park Service, Department of the Interior without regard to Civil Service Rules
7347	April 15, 1936	Amending Executive Order No. 7083 of June 24, 1935, Prescribing Rules and Regulations Relating to Methods of Prosecuting Projects under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935
7348	April 15, 1936	Exemption of Harvey A. Harding from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7349	April 18, 1936	Modifying Executive Order of June 8, 1926, Creating Reservoir Site Reserve No. 17, Pacific Slope Basins, California (Modification No. 401)
7350	April 20, 1936	Inspection of Income, Profits and Capital Stock Tax Returns by the Special Committee Investigating Old Age Pension Organizations
7351	April 21, 1936	Authorizing the Appointment of Mrs. Lucille Coy Dailey to a Position in the Classified Civil Service without regard to the Civil Service Rules
7352	April 23, 1936	Excluding Certain Tracts of Land from Tongass National Forest and Restoring them to Entry (Alaska)
7353	April 23, 1936	Excluding a Certain Tract of Land from Chugach National Forest and Restoring it to Entry (Alaska)
7354	April 30, 1936	Modifying Executive Order No. 3825 of April 14, 1923, and setting apart certain Land for Airport Purposes (Alaska)
7355	April 30, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 6054 of Feb-

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		ruary 28, 1933, withdrawing Public Lands (Colorado)
7356	May 4, 1936	Transfer of Portion of Camp Eagle Pass, Texas, to the Treasury Department
7357	May 4, 1936	Partial Revocation of Executive Order of September 23, 1912, Entitled "Mineral Land Withdrawal No. 1, Arizona No. 1"
7358	May 5, 1936	Reinstatement of Certain Former Foreign Service Officers
7359	May 5, 1936	Nicolet National Forest, Wisconsin (Lands added)
7360	May 5, 1936	Partial Revocation of Executive Order No. 6076 of March 15, 1933, withdrawing Public Lands, New Mexico
7361	May 5, 1936	Amendment of Executive Order No. 4929 of July 7, 1928, withdrawing certain Carson National Forest Lands within the Rio Pueblo De Taos Watershed from Entry or Other Disposition (New Mexico)
7362	May 5, 1936	Partial Revocation of Executive Order Nos. 5323 and 6473 of April 10, 1930, and December 4, 1933, respectively, Withdrawing Public Lands (Wyoming)
7363	May 6, 1936	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6964 of February 5, 1935, withdrawing all Public Land in Certain States (Subject to approval of Secretary of Interior all public lands in certain states covered by Executive Order No. 6964, shall be available for sale, exchange or lease, subject to valid existing rights)
7364	May 6, 1936	Enlarging Charles Sheldon Wild-life Refuge (Nevada)
7365	May 7, 1936	Dissolution of Second Export-Import Bank of Washington, D. C.
7366	May 7, 1936	Authorizing Initial Appointments to Certain Positions in the Social Security Board without compliance with the Civil Service Act and Rules
7367	May 9, 1936	Authorizing the Appointment of Mrs. Eva Sweeney to a Classified Position in the Department of Agriculture without regard to the Civil Service Act and Rules
7368	May 13, 1936	Placing Certain Islands in the Pacific Ocean under the Control and Jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior, Jarvis Island, Baker Island, and Howland Island
7369	May 13, 1936	Amendment of Executive Order of January 17, 1873, Relating to the Holding of State or Local

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		Offices by Federal Officers and Employees (Indian Service officers, etc., serving in a medical or sanitary capacity)
7370	May 13, 1936	Amendment of Paragraph 10 (a), Section IV, Schedule A of Civil Service Rules (Excluding certain instructors at the United States Military Academy)
7371	May 18, 1936	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6160 of June 7, 1933, prescribing Rules and Regulations relating to the Administration of the Emergency Conservation Work (Pay and allowances of Civilian Conservation Corps)
7372	May 18, 1936	Amendment of Schedule A of the Civil Service Rules (Change of number of subdivision)
7373	May 20, 1936	Establishing the Desert Game Range (Nevada)
7374	May 20, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 6499 of December 15, 1933, withdrawing Public Lands (New Mexico)
7375	May 20, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 4289 of August 22, 1925, Arizona (revocation of withdrawal of public lands)
7376	May 20, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 6286 of September 14, 1933, withdrawing Public Lands (New Mexico)
7377	May 20, 1936	Transferring Certain Lands to the Control and Jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Navy (Massachusetts)
7378	May 22, 1936	Cache National Forest, Utah (lands added)
7379	May 26, 1936	Amendment to Tariff of United States Consular Fees
7380	May 27, 1936	Exemption of Vincent Pierro from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7381	June 3, 1936	Transferring to War Department Possession and Control of certain land at Army Supply Base, Charleston, S. C.
7382	June 4, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 7357 of May 4, 1936, and Partial Revocation of Executive Order of September 23, 1912, entitled "Mineral Land Withdrawal No. 1, Arizona No. 1."
7383	June 5, 1936	Enlarging Delta Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (Louisiana)
7384	June 8, 1936	Appointment of Thomas Neblett and Rose Turlin as Members of the National Advisory Committee of the National Youth Administration
7385	June 8, 1936	Exemption of John V. Shea from Compulsory Retirement for Age

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7386	June 8, 1936	Withdrawal of Public Land for Administrative Site (Colorado)
7387	June 15, 1936	Reservation of Naval Station, Balboa, Canal Zone
7388	June 15, 1936	Modification of Executive Order No. 6910 of November 26, 1934, as amended, withdrawing Public Lands in Certain States (New Mexico)
7389	June 15, 1936	Amendment of Civil Service Rule IX, Reinstatement
7390	June 15, 1936	Postponement of Effective Date of Certain Provisions of Executive Order No. 6166 of June 10, 1933 (delaying effect of Section 4 relating to disbursement functions until December 31, 1936)
7391	June 17, 1936	Enlarging Savannah River Wild-life Refuge (Georgia and South Carolina)
7392	June 19, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 6014 of February 6, 1933, withdrawing Public Lands (Oregon)
7393	June 19, 1936	Amendment of Subdivision XIII, Schedule A, Civil Service Rules (Special Assistant to the Secretary of Labor)
7394	June 19, 1936	Exemption of Benjamin F. Taylor from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7395	June 19, 1936	Exemption of Miss Jessie McL. Watson from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7396	June 22, 1936	Making Applicable to the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1936 Certain Executive Orders, Rules and Regulations Issued under Authority of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 (Works Progress Administration to continue to provide work relief, etc.)
7397	June 22, 1936	Establishing the Federal Fire Council as an Advisory Agency in Matters Relating to the Protection of Federal Employees and Property from Fire
7398	June 22, 1936	Authorizing Charles O. Gregory to Act as Secretary of Labor
7399	June 23, 1936	Reservation of Naval Radio Station, Summit, Canal Zone
7400	June 23, 1936	Amendment of Subdivision IX, Schedule A, Civil Service Rules
7401	June 23, 1936	Exemption of Henry Blackwood from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7402	June 26, 1936	Modification of Executive Order No. 6910 of November 26, 1934, as amended, Withdrawing Public Lands in Certain States, California
7403	June 26, 1936	Amendment of Executive Order No. 6928 of December 24, 1934 (Amending regulations for pay-

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		ment of losses sustained by officers, etc., of the United States in foreign countries on account of appreciation of foreign currencies in their relation to the American dollar)
7404	July 1, 1936	Amendment of Subdivision XI, Schedule B, Civil Service Rules (Employment by Department of the Navy in an area outside the continental limits of the United States)
7405	July 6, 1936	Amendment of Subdivision IV, Schedule B, Civil Service Rules (Employment by Department of War in an area outside the continental limits of the United States)
7406	July 6, 1936	Modifying Executive Orders of July 2, 1910, and February 17, 1912, creating respectively, Power Site Reserves Nos. 116 and 244, Colorado River (Formerly Grand River), Colorado, Modification No. 402
7407	July 6, 1936	Quarry Heights Military Reservation, Canal Zone (Establishment)
7408	July 6, 1936	Amendment of Section 6, Rule II, Civil Service Rules (Regulations regarding employees holding positions when they are placed under competitive classified Civil Service)
7409	July 9, 1936	Prescribing Regulations relating to Annual Leave of Government Employees
7410	July 9, 1936	Prescribing Regulations Relating to Sick leave of Government Employees
7411	July 9, 1936	Authorization of Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate, to inspect Income, Profits and Capital Stock Tax Returns
7412	July 10, 1936	Modifying Proclamation No. 2175 of June 15, 1936, Establishing the Bienville National Forest, Mississippi
7413	July 10, 1936	Exemption of Edward M. Weeks from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7414	July 10, 1936	Regulations Governing the Grades and Ratings of Enlisted Men of the Regular Army
7415	July 17, 1936	Partial Revocation of certain Executive Orders withdrawing Public Lands for use as Air Navigation sites (Nevada, Utah)
7416	July 17, 1936	Revocation in part of Executive Order No. 7047 of May 20, 1935, and modification of Executive Order No. 6957 of February 4, 1935, relating to Public Lands, Alaska
7417	July 17, 1936	Establishing Minidoka Wild-life Refuge (Idaho)

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7418	July 20, 1936	Authorizing the Acquisition of Land near Yorktown, Virginia, for Emergency Conservation work
7419	July 20, 1936	Exemption of Charles Lee Cooke from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7420	July 20, 1936	Exemption of William T. Marshall from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7421	July 20, 1936	Procedure Relating to the Appointment of First, Second and Third Class Postmasters
7422	July 23, 1936	Amendment of Schedule A, Subdivision VIII, Paragraph 5, Civil Service Rules (Temporary Field Employees, Interior Department)
7423	July 26, 1936	Amendment of Subdivision I, Schedule B, Civil Service Rules (Indians in Bureau of Indian Affairs)
7424	July 26, 1936	Transferring certain lands to the Department of Agriculture for use as a Soil Conservation Experimental Station (Pope County, Illinois)
7425	August 1, 1936	Establishing Pathfinder Wild-life Refuge (Wyoming)
7426	August 6, 1936	Designating the Vice Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (Ronald Ransom)
7427	August 6, 1936	Revocation of Paragraph 2 (b) Section V, Schedule A of the Civil Service Rules (certain positions at United States Naval Academy)
7428	August 11, 1936	Exemption of William E. Cotton from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7429	August 17, 1936	Uinta National Forest, Utah (lands added)
7430	August 17, 1936	Withdrawal of Land for Lookout Site (Oregon)
7431	August 17, 1936	Exemption of George C. Havenner from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7432	August 18, 1936	Authorizing the appointment of Mrs. Gertrude Pullman Evans to a classified position in the Navy Department without regard to the Civil Service Rules
7433	August 18, 1936	Amendment of Executive Order No. 7164 of August 29, 1935, prescribing rules and regulations relating to student-aid projects and to employment of youth on other projects under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 (Wages and hours of youth employed on projects)
7434	August 18, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 6123 of May 2, 1933, withdrawing Public Lands (Colorado)
7435	August 19, 1936	Establishing Winnemucca Migratory Bird Refuge (Nevada)

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7436	August 21, 1936	Amendment of Section 2 of Executive Order No. 7305 of February 28, 1936, Allocating Funds to the Farm Credit Administration, etc. (Regulations for making of emergency crop loans)
7437	August 21, 1936	Establishing Trempealeau Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (Wisconsin)
7438	August 21, 1936	Exemption of George S. Rice from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7439	August 24, 1936	Amendment of Article XXVIII of the Consular Regulations (Reports)
7440	August 25, 1936	Exemption of Charles B. Sornborger from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7441	August 29, 1936	Withdrawal of Public Lands for Lookout Stations (Oregon)
7442	August 31, 1936	Withdrawal of Public Lands for use of War Department as Enlargement of a Target Range (New Mexico)
7443	August 31, 1936	Modifying Proclamation No. 2190 of July 17, 1936, Establishing the Talladega National Forest (Alabama)
7444	September 7, 1936	Exemption of Harry D. Myers from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7445	September 8, 1936	Exemption of Miss Mary M. O'Reilly from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7446	September 11, 1936	Modification of Executive Order No. 7070 of June 12, 1935, prescribing regulations governing appointments of employees paid from Emergency Funds (Transfer to another Federal Agency from certificate issued by Civil Service Commission)
7447	September 11, 1936	Duties and Functions of the United States High Commissioner to the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands in Connection with Proceedings involving the extradition of Fugitives from justice to and from the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands
7448	September 12, 1936	Withdrawal of Public Lands for use as Receiving Station for Alaska Communication System (Alaska)
7449	September 16, 1936	Amending the Instructions to Diplomatic Officers and the Consular Regulations
7450	September 17, 1936	Excusing from duty on Wednesday, September 23, 1936, until 1 P.M. Employees of the Executive Department, establishments, and other agencies of the Federal Government in the District of Columbia, who desire to show honor to the Veterans of

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- the Civil War upon the occasion of the parade of the Grand Army of the Republic
- 7451 September 17, 1936 Transferring certain lands to the control and Jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Navy (California)
- 7452 September 19, 1936 Addition to Upper Mississippi River Wild-life and Fish Refuge, Minnesota and Wisconsin
- 7453 September 23, 1936 Withdrawal of Public Land for Lookout Station (California)
- 7454 September 23, 1936 Revocation of Executive Orders Nos. 6671 and 6781 of April 7, 1934, and June 30, 1934, respectively, withdrawing Public Lands (Arizona)
- 7455 September 25, 1936 Exemption of Henry W. Langheim from Compulsory Retirement for Age
- 7456 September 25, 1936 Exemption of Lemuel W. Bean from Compulsory Retirement for Age
- 7457 September 25, 1936 Exemption of Bernard H. Lane from Compulsory Retirement for Age
- 7458 September 26, 1936 Transferring to the Rural Electrification Administration Established by the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 the functions, property, and personnel of the Rural Electrification Administration established by Executive Order No. 7037, of May 11, 1933
- 7459 September 26, 1936 Amendment of Paragraph 7, Subdivision III, Schedule A, Civil Service Rules (Public Health Service Employees)
- 7460 September 26, 1936 Designating the Chairman of the United States Maritime Commission (Henry A. Wiley)
- 7461 September 26, 1936 Placing Certain Lands under the control of the Secretary of the Interior (Alabama)
- 7462 September 26, 1936 Placing certain land under the control of the Secretary of the Interior (Florida)
- 7463 September 29, 1936 Abolishing Fort Pierce, Florida, as a Customs Port of Entry
- 7464 September 30, 1936 Extending Certain Periods of Trust on Indian Lands
- 7465 October 6, 1936 Designation of Under Secretary, Assistant Secretary, and Chief of the Weather Bureau, Department of Agriculture, to Act as Secretary of Agriculture
- 7466 October 7, 1936 Authorizing the Purchase of Certain Lands in the Jefferson National Forest and Allocating funds therefor (Virginia)
- 7467 October 7, 1936 Transferring Certain Lands to the Control and

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		Jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Navy (California)
7468	October 8, 1936	Exemption of James W. Sims from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7469	October 13, 1936	Increasing the Amounts Available for Public Projects under Clauses (f) and (g) of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1936. (Increasing amounts for educational, professional and clerical persons and for women's projects)
7470	October 15, 1936	Regulations governing the authentication of Certified Copies of the Foreign Public Records, the manner of executing and returning Commissions by Consular and Diplomatic Officers in Criminal Cases, and Schedules of Fees and Compensation allowable in such Cases
7471	October 15, 1936	Gaging Station Site Reserve No. 2, Santa Ysabel Creek, California
7472	October 15, 1936	Modification of Executive Order No. 7140 to permit Mrs. Ruth Hampton, Assistant Director, Division of Territories and Island Possessions, Department of the Interior, to Acquire a Classified Civil Service Status
7473	October 15, 1936	Exemption of Harry Planert from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7474	October 17, 1936	Extending the Limits of Customs Port of Entry of Brownsville, Texas
7475	October 19, 1936	Exemption of George G. Hedgcock from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7476	October 23, 1936	Establishing Long Tail Point Migratory Waterfowl Refuge, Wisconsin
7477	October 24, 1936	Exemption of William McNeir from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7478	October 24, 1936	Exemption of Adrian J. Pieters from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7479	October 27, 1936	Designation of the Director of the Geological Survey to Act as Secretary of the Interior
7480	October 27, 1936	Exemption of Adolph Kress from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7481	October 27, 1936	Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities
7482	October 30, 1936	Designating Morehead City, North Carolina, as a Customs Port of Entry
7483	November 2, 1936	Authorizing the Special Committee to investigate production, transportation, and marketing of wool.

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		United States Senate to inspect Income, Profits and Capital Stock Tax Returns
7484	November 6, 1936	Addition to Cedar Keys Bird Refuge (Florida)
7485	November 6, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 2124 of January 20, 1915, Establishing Ediz Hook Reservation (Washington)
7486	November 6, 1936	Partial Revocation of Executive Order No. 4539 of November 6, 1926, withdrawing public lands (Utah)
7487	November 6, 1936	Amendment of Paragraph 6, Subdivision VII, Schedule A, Civil Service Rules (Temporary clerks, etc., in the Postal Service)
7487-A	November 6, 1936	Designation of R. Walton Moore, Assistant Secretary of State to Act as Secretary of State
7488	November 12, 1936	Designation of Louis N. Robinson as Chairman of the Prison Industries Reorganization Board
7489	November 14, 1936	Enlarging Elk Refuge (Wyoming)
7490	November 14, 1936	Reservoir Site Restoration No. 16, Revoking in part the Executive Order of June 8, 1926, Creating Reservoir Site Reserve No. 17
7491	November 14, 1936	Withdrawal of Public Lands for use of War Department as Target Range (Wyoming)
7492	November 14, 1936	Exemption of Albert F. Wood from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7493	November 14, 1936	Placing the Administrative Acts of the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration under the Control and Supervision of the Secretary of the Interior until further order
7494	November 14, 1936	Exemption of Davis B. Lewis from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7495	November 14, 1936	Designating Orange, Texas, as a Customs Port of Entry
7496	November 14, 1936	Transfer of Property, Functions, Funds, etc., pertaining to recreational Demonstration Projects from the Resettlement Administration to the Secretary of the Interior
7497	November 17, 1936	Amending the Instructions to Diplomatic Officers and the Consular Regulations (Marriages of Foreign Service Officers)
7498	November 17, 1936	Authorizing the Alaska Railroad to engage in Ocean-going and Coastwise Transportation
7499	November 27, 1936	Excusing Federal Employees from Duty on December 24 and 26, 1936, and January 2, 1937
7500	December 3, 1936	Amending Executive Order No. 5952 of November 23, 1932, relating to Army Ration

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7501	December 3, 1936	Changing the name of the Santa Barbara National Forest, California, to Los Padres National Forest
7502	December 3, 1936	Withdrawal of Public Land for Administrative Site (California)
7503	December 3, 1936	Amending and correcting Description of Boundaries of Kuwaaohē Military Reservation, Hawaii
7504	December 11, 1936	Withdrawal of Public Land for Experiment Station (Arizona)
7505	December 11, 1936	Withdrawal of Public Lands (California)
7506	December 11, 1936	Revocation of Executive Orders No. 6122 of May 2, 1933, and No. 6266 of September 6, 1933, withdrawing Public Lands (Colorado)
7507	December 11, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 6075 of March 15, 1933, withdrawing Public Lands (Colorado)
7508	December 11, 1936	Designating Carrabelle, Florida, as a Customs Port of Entry
7509	December 11, 1936	Establishing the Fort Peck Game Range (Montana)
7510	December 11, 1936	Establishing Lenore Lake Migratory Bird Refuge (Washington)
7511	December 11, 1936	Partial Revocation of Executive Order No. 5603 of April 20, 1931, withdrawing Public Lands (Wyoming)
7512	December 16, 1936	Increasing the amounts available for Public Projects under Clause (j) of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1936 (Amounts for rural rehabilitation, etc.)
7513	December 16, 1936	Transfer of Lands from the Roosevelt and Pike National Forests to the Arapaho National Forest in the State of Colorado
7514	December 16, 1936	Establishing Patuxent Research Refuge (Maryland)
7515	December 16, 1936	Withdrawal of Public Land for use of the War Department for the enlargement of a Target Range (Arizona)
7516	December 16, 1936	Exemption of Elton A. Gongwer from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7517	December 16, 1936	Exemption of Andre Fourchy from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7518	December 16, 1936	Exemption of Frank E. Singleton from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7519	December 16, 1936	Exemption of Herbert A. Smith from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7520	December 18, 1936	Withdrawal of Public Land for use of the War Department as a Target Range for the Arizona National Guard, Arizona

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7521	December 21, 1936	Use of Vessels for Ice-Breaking Operations in Channels and Harbors
7522	December 21, 1936	Charles Sheldon Antelope Range, Nevada (establishment)
7523	December 21, 1936	Hart Mountain Antelope Refuge — Oregon (establishment)
7524	December 23, 1936	Establishing Chautauqua Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (Illinois)
7525	December 28, 1936	Exemption of Robert W. Shumate from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7526	December 29, 1936	Postponement of effective date of Certain Provisions of Executive Order No. 6166 of June 10, 1933 (Delaying effect of Section 4 relating to disbursement functions until June 30, 1937)
7527	December 29, 1936	Modification of Executive Order No. 1030 of February 24, 1909, Reserving Public Lands for Educational and Agricultural Experiment Station Purposes (Alaska)
7528	December 29, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 5328 of April 15, 1930, withdrawing Public Lands (Colorado)
7529	December 29, 1936	Revocation of Executive Order No. 5343 of May 6, 1930, withdrawing Public Lands (Nevada)
7530	December 31, 1936	Transfer of the Functions, Funds, Property, etc., of the Resettlement Administration to the Secretary of Agriculture
7531	December 31, 1936	Exemption of Charles Earle from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7532	January 8, 1937	Establishing Shinnecock Migratory Bird Refuge (New York)
7533	January 11, 1937	Exemption of James E. Tibbits from Compulsory Retirement for Age
7534	January 12, 1937	Excluding Land from Sitgreaves National Forest and Reserving it for Townsite Purposes (Arizona)
7535	January 12, 1937	Partial Revocation of Executive Order No. 6119, May 2, 1933, withdrawing Public Lands (Calif.)
7536	January 12, 1937	Partial Revocation of Executive Order No. 5687 of August 18, 1931, withdrawing Public Lands (Wyo.)
7537	January 14, 1937	Authorizing the Leasing of Certain Reserved Lands (Alaska)
7538	January 19, 1937	Enlarging the Delta Migratory Waterfowl Refuge (Louisiana)
7539	January 19, 1937	Partial Revocation of Executive Order No. 4914 of June 23, 1927, withdrawing Public Lands (Wyoming)

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